

BELOVED EL MORYA
CHOHAN OF THE FIRST RAY

BL
1301

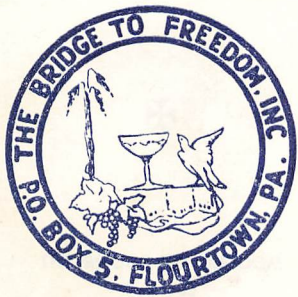
.E45
1954

The First Ray

by

Ito Chohan
The Ascended Master
EL MORYA

Compiled and Edited
by
THOMAS PRINTZ



THE HOLY GRAIL FROM WHICH
ALL WHO ARE ATHIRST MAY DRINK

Theology Library
Claremont
School of Theology
Claremont, CA

COPYRIGHT 1954

THE BRIDGE TO FREEDOM

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

CONTENTS

	PAGE
DEDICATION	4
FOREWORD	5
GREETINGS FROM DARJEELING	7
THE FIRST RAY AND ITS CHOCHAN, EL MORYA ...	8
MASTER MORYA'S SERVICE TO LIFE	11
EL MORYA AS COSMIC CORRESPONDENT	14
THE GREAT ABYSS	17
THE BRIDGE BUILDERS—1	18
THE BRIDGE BUILDERS—2	20
HUMAN RELUCTANCE TO CHANGE	24
VICTORY TO THE BOLD	26
CHELA'S EVOLUTION ACCELERATED BY ASSOCIA- TION WITH MASTER	28
PURPOSE OF NEW ENDEAVOR	31
UNIVERSAL SERVICE OF THE MASTERS	34
DIVINE PLAN 1	36
DIVINE PLAN 2	38
LOWERING DIVINE PATTERN	40
EXTERNALIZING DIVINE PATTERN	43
MUTUAL BENEFITS OF COOPERATIVE SERVICE ...	46
EACH MAN'S SAVIOR IS WITHIN HIMSELF	49
TRUTH COLORED BY HUMAN CONCEPTS	52
LIGHT ON PATH 1	60
LIGHT ON PATH 2	63
LIGHT ON PATH 3	65
LIGHT ON PATH 4	73
GOD'S MISSION THROUGH YOU	82
MOMENTUMS OF GOOD AND EVIL	84
BENEFITS FROM CONTEMPLATION OF THE MASTERS	86
GUARDIAN SPIRITS	88
CHANGING OF SPIRITUAL POLES OF THE EARTH ...	91
CHANNELLED ENERGY	93
CHELAS—PROBATIONARY	94
—ACCEPTED	99
—KUTHUMI'S INSTRUCTION	103
GURU AND CHELA	105
GRANTS AND INVESTMENT OF MASTERS' ENERGY ..	107
SPELLING OF MASTERS' NAMES	110
EPILOGUE: THE SPIRITUAL CARAVAN	112

DEDICATION

This book is dedicated in love to My Beloved Son, El Morya, who as Chohan of the First Ray represents the Will of God to the people of earth.

His tireless service and boundless enthusiasm have brought to the attention of the peoples in the Western Hemisphere, particularly, the truth about the Masters of Wisdom and Their great Endeavors to assist the human race and the evolution of the planet and all its attendant life.

In order to accelerate the progress of the Divine Plan through those willing to abide in the Wisdom of the Masters, Beloved Morya applied for a dispensation whereby He might again contact certain chelas and present through them the current endeavors and activities of the Great Spiritual Hierarchy while such services were in progress. I was permitted by the Cosmic Law to allow Him this opportunity.

The contents of this book represent His advice, counsel and general correspondence with such chelas. All individuals who desire to assist Us will find the Law, as presented, equally applicable to their own endeavors and the Light which He has drawn and focused through these chelas' consciousness an equally reliable guide for every individual's progress on The Path!

Love and Blessings,

MAHA CHOCHAN

FOREWORD

It has been a long time since We first began Our endeavors to convince the consciousness of mankind that We have Being. The unconscious egotism of the personal self is such that it cannot conceive of an Intelligence superior to its own! A vague and vapory concept of God is comfortable to live with, but an active, forthright Brotherhood Who are concerned with action, not words, is not always so acceptable.

Religion, alas, has become merely a means of assuaging the feeble soul thirst which rises from the promptings of conscience. Too often it is but an escape from reality in the happy reverie over a more pleasant tomorrow when the clouds will lighten and the cares pass away. Alas! that cannot be unless We have some who are willing to consume the causes of distress today.

I Am grateful for those of you who have coupled professed love with active service! There are always a limited few able to grasp the Vision of God's Will in every age who roll up their sleeves and tie the energies of their worlds to the task at hand. To these few I send my blessings. You are the Hope of the World!

M

(Note: The Master El Morya invariably signs His communications with just a large capital "M".)

THE HYMNS OF ZARATHUSTRA

The Hymns of Zarathustra

BL
1515
A35
1963

*Being a Translation of the Gāthās together with
Introduction and Commentary*

By

JACQUES DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN

Preface by Richard N. Frye

Translated from the French

by Mrs. M. Henning

BEACON PRESS

BOSTON

First published in 1952 by John Murray Ltd. First published as a Beacon Paperback in 1963 by arrangement with John Murray Ltd. Printed in the United States of America.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

THIS book is a serious attempt by a distinguished modern scholar to translate into a Western language the traditional hymns of Zoroaster, and so to reproduce as nearly as possible the words which Zarathustra actually spoke. The French version and commentary have appeared as part of a book *Zoroastre, essai critique avec une traduction commentée des gāthās*, Paris, G.-P. Maisonneuve, 1948, to which one may refer for more detailed discussions. The Introduction was published in *L'Ame de l'Iran*, Paris, Albin Michel, 1951.

PREFACE

The Gāthās or hymns of the prophet Zarathustra are exceedingly difficult to translate, and many attempts have been made to interpret them with varying degrees of success. After much study Professor Duchesne-Guillemin gave us a sober and usable rendition of the original in French, and Mrs. Henning, wife of a distinguished Iranist, prepared an eminently readable English version. It is not particularly hazardous to predict that the present work will remain the standard translation into English for years to come, and students of history and religion will be grateful that they have here a reliable guide to the ideas of Zarathustra.

This does not mean that there are no problems left in understanding the Gāthās; indeed difficulties will always remain. What is the nature of the Gāthās which makes them so difficult to understand? The Gāthās were composed in a dialect close to that of the rest of the Avesta, and also to the language of the Vedas of India. But the contents of the various *yasnas* or chapters of the Gāthās are different from the *yashts* of the so-called "Younger Avesta." The *yashts*, like the paeans of the Rig Veda, are ancient prayers of adoration, directed to a certain deity (such as Mithra). Like the Vedic hymns, the *yashts* were probably recited when certain sacrifices were made or certain rites were performed. The recitation of the hymns, however, was a solemn obligation for the worshipper since a correct delivery was necessary for the proper functioning of the universe. The Gāthās, on the other hand, seem to represent an innovation

of the prophet Zarathustra — an innovation in the traditional religion of the Aryans or Indo-Iranian peoples. He appears as a mediator between the supreme deity, Ahura Mazda, and his followers. Zarathustra engages in a discourse with Ahura Mazda, and both eschatological and ethical questions come to the fore.

Unfortunately, we do not have an ancient tradition of translations or commentaries by the Zarathustrian priesthood on the Gāthās. Some scholars have suggested that there were prose accompaniments, now lost, to the Gāthās elucidating the often terse poetry. If we knew anything about the early followers of the prophet, we might be able better to reconstruct the milieu, and thus the meaning of the Gāthās for the worshippers. Since the Zarathustrian priesthood, for at least a millennium and a half, has known little more about the Gāthās than present day scholars, the road to understanding the Gāthās lies in comparison with the oldest Sanskrit literature of India, and in comparative Indoeuropean philology; this is the basis for all work on the Avesta.

Duchesne-Guillemin not only has a solid background of philological work, but he also has a particular point of view on the Gāthās. He is an exponent of the views of Georges Dumézil of the *Collège de France* in Paris, a leading but controversial figure in the study of comparative folklore and religion. According to Dumézil the ancient Indoeuropean peoples had a unity of belief and ideology parallel to the unity of their various dialects or languages. The ideology of the Indoeuropeans could be characterized under a tripartite division of the gods, reflecting the tripartite division of Indoeuropean society on earth. Just as people were divided into priests, warriors and common folk, so the gods, or patrons of these divisions of society, had a tripartite division. The ideological basis or the philosophy of the tripartite division of society was best expressed by the

different functions of the patron deities. Thus the gods of the priests were concerned with the function of sovereignty, those of the warriors with force or aggression, while the deities of the peasants exemplified fecundity or growth. Moreover, each function had two aspects, and this duality within the domain of sovereignty could be described as the juridical and magical aspects of sovereignty.

Dumézil and his followers claim to have traced survivals of this ancient ideology in the writings of various Indoeuropean peoples, such as the Indians, Iranians and Romans. Other scholars fail to see the connections between the various textual passages adduced to support the theory of the tripartite ideology. In my opinion, a parallel with the interpretation of the various texts by Dumézil and his followers, is provided by the esoteric interpretation (*ta'wil*) of the Quran by certain Muslim groups. The text was the same, but certain persons saw distinctive patterns and meanings in certain passages which others could not see. Duchesne-Guillemin sees evidence for Dumézil's theories, in some passages in the Gāthās, e.g. *Yasnas* fifty, thirty-four and twenty-nine. Other scholars are unconvinced that the passages reveal a tripartite pattern. Therefore, we are really in a religious situation which demands tolerance from both sides, and the reader of the present translation of the Gāthās can make up his own mind.

To return to the Gāthās themselves, regardless of the interpretation of passages, on the whole well translated by Duchesne-Guillemin, the traditional order of the *yasnas* has been rearranged. One cannot quarrel with the Duchesne-Guillemin for trying to find an order, and some continuity for the chapters of the Gāthās. Like the *suras* of the Quran the traditional order of the verses of the Gāthās was merely their length, hence any attempt to rearrange the verses for a better understanding is laudable. After all, the object of any translation is to enable

the reader to understand the original. Translations of religious books always present special problems, but the Gāthās, more than any other work, are incomparable in the problems they offer, and a commentary to the translation is needed.

Certain passages might by now be changed or corrected by the translator himself, and one might challenge some of his interpretations. For example, I would follow many others in adding to line 1, verse 3 of *yasna* 30 (p. 105), "in a vision" or "by a vision" after the word "beginning," while in verse 7 (p. 107) *utayūitiš* would better be translated as "perpetuity" rather than "endurance." The last line on page 107 might be rendered "after this (these) shall come illumination." There are many such questions one might raise, but we are not concerned here with a revision of Duchesne-Guillemin's translation.¹ Rather let us turn in conclusion to the importance of the Gāthās as a book.

It is time that the message of Zarathustra receive the same attention as say the Psalms in Hebrew literature. The Gāthās must have meant as much for the ancient Iranians as the Psalms for the Jews; they were the outpourings of man faced with the mysteries of the universe. One may analyze the Gāthās on the basis of grammar and etymology, even as a piece of literature, but unless the primary purpose of the Gāthās as the inspiration of a religion is considered, even the meaning will be obscure. He who studies the Orient must have a sympathy for religion. On the other hand, as the Arabic saying goes, "He who thinks of God without contemplation is like an ass with a load of books."

The Gāthās should be placed in a setting of a pastoral society with hostile nomads in the vicinity. Zarathustra was cognizant of the problems of his fellow men, and he addressed them with

1. An interesting review of the book by I. Gershevitch has appeared in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1952) 174-8.

those problems in mind. Yet he was inspired to preach a universal message of hope and salvation for those who heard. Zarathustra is rightly called a prophet and he speaks in a language of inspiration and exaltation. One may discuss the ethics of the Gāthās, the conflict of good and evil, and various details of his message, usually in the context of the Zoroastrian church as it later developed. But the words of Zarathustra are not primarily concerned with dogma, rites, scholasticism or even with the groundwork of a religion. Rather the Gāthās proclaim, albeit in an often obscure manner the victory of man over his fate. They proclaim to those who hear the message of all religions that man's existence on earth is not purposeless. Or as a friend, Wilfred Cantwell Smith has put it, the realization "that man is not man until he has recognized that the proper response to death is poetry, not prose."

like
apocalyptic

RICHARD N. FRYE
*Aga Khan Professor of Iranian
Harvard University*

CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	I
THE ORDER OF THE GĀTHĀS	23
YASNA 50	27
YASNA 48	34
YASNA 34	40
YASNA 33	48
YASNA 29	56
YASNA 44	63
YASNA 46	74
YASNA 28	84
YASNA 45	90
YASNA 47	98
YASNA 30	102
YASNA 31	108
YASNA 32	118
YASNA 49	126
YASNA 43	132
YASNA 51	140
YASNA 53	151
EPILOGUE	159

INTRODUCTION

Of all the sons of Asia, Zarathustra was the first to be "adopted" by the West. His doctrine reached Greece some four centuries before that of Christ was received there. It was known to Plato, to whom it must have meant a great deal.

Neither the voice of Buddha nor that of Confucius was to carry as far as Europe for a long time to come, and so Zarathustra, under the Greek form of his name, Zoroaster, was the only one to represent the ancient Asiatic wisdom; the more so as the fantastic shadow of this "Magus" had spread out over the mysterious Mesopotamian lore of astrology and magic.

More than twenty centuries later the Frenchman Anquetil-Duperron, duly initiated by the book of Thomas Hyde, brought back from India the Avesta as well as the Upanishads; he thus started that great movement of archaeological and philological research owing to which modern man was to expand the knowledge of his origins far beyond the classical and biblical horizon. Up to that time, it was possible to believe that the world had begun as is told in Genesis, and civilization with the Greeks and Romans. This position has been for ever shattered by the mass of discoveries about ancient Iran, India, Mesopotamia, Egypt, to which Anquetil's achievement was a sort of prelude.

Of the two great currents from which the European mentality takes its being, the Greek and the Jewish current, neither can be said to be decidedly free of all Zoroastrian contamination. I ✓

do not count either astrology, which the ancients put under Zoroaster's authority, nor the legend of the Three Magi from the East who came, guided by a star, to worship at Bethlehem. I allude to more important contacts. In Greece, Eudoxus of Cnidus, the contemporary and disciple of Plato, compared his master with Zoroaster. The Iranian doctrine may be supposed to have modified or reinforced the dualism of the Greek philosopher. To what extent? I do not presume here to approach this problem.

Nor shall I attempt to define the precise influence of Zoroastrianism on the evolution which came to light in Judaism from the time of the Exile onwards and through the manifold contacts with Iran which were to follow. The development in Palestine of the doctrines of Apocalypse, Kingdom of God, Last Judgment, Resurrection, Man and Son of Man, Prince of this World, or Prince of Darkness, and Saviour, was to prepare a *milieu* capable of receiving and interpreting the message of the life, the word, and the death of Jesus.

These problems are too serious to be glanced at in passing. I adopt here an entirely general point of view in order to try and place Zoroaster on a comprehensive map of the human mind, and therefore in relation to ourselves.

Seen thus, Zoroaster will be revealed to us as an innovator who crossed at one step a decisive stage in the history of human thought. It is not the least attraction of this personality to be at once primitive and modern, to take us a long way towards the origins of all reflection on man and his destiny, and to make us grasp in its infancy one of the spiritual attitudes in which we are still living. Zoroaster is, in fact, in the full sense of the word, *the first theologian*.

This statement, which is not new, has seemed incredible, and some of the most distinguished scholars have endeavoured to minimize its importance. J. Darmesteter—the last up to recently

to translate into French (in 1892) the discourses of Zarathustra—asks in effect: "How is one to accept that a man who lived at least six centuries before our era, far away from Greece, could have expressed his views on God and the world in philosophical language, using abstract notions which recall those of the Gnostics and the neo-Platonists? These discourses must, therefore, be forgeries composed seven or eight centuries after the time of the prophet to whom they are attributed."

This thesis of Darmesteter's comes up against a linguistic argument and has convinced nobody. More recently, in 1937, the Swedish scholar Nyberg has, without in any way denying the antiquity of Zoroaster's doctrine, sought to deny its philosophical character. In a most important work he presents Zoroaster to us as a kind of shaman, of Mongol sorcerer who intoxicated himself with hemp fumes. Nyberg's book, which is profoundly original and offers a new translation of many passages of the *Gāthās*, has contributed not a little to the embarrassment not only of the layman—who knows no longer whom to trust—but of many expert scholars, who have found themselves obliged to take this big book into account since they were unwilling to refute it.

This fairly general uneasiness has found expression in the words of Mlle Simone Pètrement, the author of two theses on Dualism, who writes:

I do not know why scholars avoid with a kind of horror representing Zoroaster as a philosopher or as having anything, however little, to do with philosophy. Yet if there is an abstract and philosophical religion, it is indeed his. Why should one not want to recognize it? Because it is very ancient? Everything is more ancient than one thinks, even, and especially, philosophy.

Before we ask ourselves in what sense—obviously rather a different one from that inherited from the Greek thinkers—the

term *philosopher* is applicable to Zoroaster, we will see what manner of man he was.

* * *

Zoroaster was a priest by profession. He has said so, and he manifestly knew the formulae, the prayers, and the poetry which were inherited from ancient times :

With hands outstretched—in the traditional attitude of prayer—
I will come before you with the verses which are the song of zeal . . .

I will harness for you—he says to the Immortal Ones in a metaphor familiar to the bards of Vedic India—the *swiftest steeds, stout and strong*—prayers—*on which you shall draw near.*

Like a Vedic bard, he occasionally includes in his hymns a claim for wages :

*Shall I receive for my reward, through Righteousness,
Ten mares with a stallion, and a camel,
Which were promised to me ?*

But he is not a priest like the others. He feels that he has a singular vocation ; he is the prophet of the Lord :

To me, he says, who will praise you as you have never been praised . . .

His word is not heard, and perhaps there is not room for him among his own people :

*To what land shall I flee ? Where bend my steps ?
I am thrust out from family and tribe :
I have no favour from the village to which I would belong,
Nor from the wicked rulers of the country :
How then, O Lord, shall I obtain thy favour ?*

But he knows the reasons for this failure : his lack of resources is the cause of his powerlessness.

Is he, then, so poor ? He complains of possessing few animals and few men. But he is surely not a nobody, a beggar. He is

a man of rank and good family. And he has nothing of the outlaw or anarchist. He does not preach the coming of the new law as a kind of general strike. He wants the progress of society in its traditional framework. Finding his preaching unsuccessful, will he be content with predicting, without being heard, the coming of a Kingdom which is not of this world? As the realist and man of tradition that he is, he considers it important for the success of his doctrine to convert a man of power to it. Driven away from his own people, he goes far away in search of a protector.

This is characteristic of him. Instead of a Buddha who breaks with the world, a Socrates who shocks those in office, a Jesus who renders unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's, one would compare him with Confucius travelling from one Chinese province to the other in search of the prince who will apply his maxims of wisdom.

The programme which Zoroaster proposes is one of social harmony, through collaboration between husbandman and warrior under the sway of priest and prince, according to the plan which God has revealed through the mouth of his prophet.

The society in which Zoroaster lives and preaches is a pastoral society, not yet settled on the land. He teaches—as Nyberg has well pointed out—the fertilization of the meadows which makes permanent settlements possible. But these must be defended against the raids of the nomads by force of arms. The nomad is a thief of cattle, which he sacrifices and eats. The good deed is to be summarized shortly as the care and the defence of the cattle, to which is added the duty of extending the area of fertilized meadows at the expense of the nomad.

This eminently practical and earthbound aspect of Zoroaster's programme is not always recognized. Thus the latest Parsee

interpreter of the Gāthās refuses, for reasons of piety, to admit that such a trivial thing as cattle-raising could be mentioned in sacred hymns. Therefore, he concludes, it can only be by allegory. In this way some vivid texts are emptied of their sap, and we are supposed to accept Zoroaster as a dreamer or a pure mystic.

Actually Zoroaster's thought is in contact with the humble realities of a rather primitive society. The pious Parsees must resign themselves to the fact that the human horizon of their prophet remains limited ; I will add : provincial.

The prince whom Zoroaster won over to his views, prince Vištāspa, must indeed have reigned over a distant region of eastern Iran, far from all contact with a great empire, apparently before the time when Cyrus and Darius assembled the whole of Iran under their sceptre and extended their domination to India, Egypt, and as far as the Greek towns of Asia Minor. It has several times been tried in vain to identify this Vištāspa with his namesake, the father of Darius.

But if Zoroaster's political horizon is limited, the conception of his message has a truly cosmic scope.

Vištāspa's kingdom, lost in the confines of the steppe, becomes through Zoroaster a " City of God ", at least virtually. To the multitude which comes to hear him the prophet preaches and announces the Kingdom of Justice, the co-operation with the work of God, on pain of total punishment. His passionate and exclamatory preaching is animated throughout by the presence of a god whom he incessantly entreats and beseeches, and who reveals himself. It recalls the tone of the prophets of Israel, from which, however, it differs.

Zoroaster knows that God speaks through his mouth. He sometimes doubts his own mission as a prophet, but only to ask his god at once to strengthen his certainty. For at bottom he has confidence in Ahura Mazda. He has recognized him in

a series of visions as the Holy Lord, and this holiness is not the terrible holiness of Jehovah. "Speak to me," he says to the Wise Lord, "as friend to friend. Grant us the support which friend would give to friend."

He expects this benevolent help from him because it is part of the relationship which he conceives between God and mankind, nay, of the very nature of God.

However, his doctrine and his spirit remain different from those of Christianity. Far from enjoining forgiveness of trespasses, Zoroaster preaches that it is as important to ill-treat the wicked as it is to be good to the good. His god is not yet a god of mercy; he is still the god of justice.

It should be noted, however, that in relation to the traditional gods of ancient Iran the just god of Zoroaster represented a progress. Previously the god was a sort of despot, tyrannical but amenable to flattery and gifts. With the Wise Lord, Law replaces caprice. And the obligation to make life hard for the wicked is a positive moral rule. Indeed, Zoroaster appears sometimes to be frightened by the rigour of the law. Losing confidence in his own virtue, he implores the pity of the Lord and he promises the faithful to intercede with him in their favour at the great Judgment . . .

But Zoroaster certainly surmised nothing of the sublime paradoxes of the Sermon on the Mount. It seems that he has not even known the grave problem which tormented Job: the problem of the righteous sufferer. For Zoroaster Righteousness led to bliss. He does sometimes ask the Lord, rather pathetically, for reassurance on this point, but on the whole he is certain of the final beatitude of the righteous, and is, therefore, willing to suffer among men.

But what is this suffering? It will be remembered that at first he had to flee, but thanks to Vištāspa he knew success. It must be said that from this moment Zoroaster is a prosperous

prophet. The only vexation of which he complains expressly does not amount to much. One day, when travelling on a wintry road, he was refused hospitality by the favourite of a prince. For this he bears him a grudge, and he predicts his punishment on the day of judgment, when the good will be sorted out from the wicked.

*The minion of the prince, at the Bridge of the winter,
Offended Zarathustra Spitama by refusing him shelter,
When he and his beasts of burden came to him shivering with cold :
Thus does the evil one's conscience forfeit the assurance of the straight
(path) ;*

*His soul, stripped bare, shall know fear at the Bridge of the Separator,
Having strayed from the path of Righteousness
By its deeds and those of his tongue.*

Altogether, in Zoroaster's system, suffering does not hold the essential place it occupies in the Christian theology which centres on a crucifixion, or in the gnostic pessimism for which the whole universe, including the god who made it, is evil. At the origin of Zoroaster's universe there is not a fall, there is a choice. But man is the victim of the evil spirit whose unhappy choice has disturbed the universe.

But what is this evil spirit ; and what is this moral system which is at the same time physical ? It is time for us to try and analyse Zoroaster's message in its essential traits.

If this message is to have a meaning, it is necessary—and perhaps sufficient—that we should forget many things. Let us then forget our sciences and the increasingly marked separation which they have caused between man and the universe, between thought and life. We will even forget our philosophies, or rather imagine a sort of primitive, naïve, very ancient philosophy.

Zoroaster's thought will then appear natural to us ; and yet we shall see the originality of the prophet stand out against the background of this common mentality.

A few very simple and very widespread ideas seem to me sufficient to constitute this primitive philosophy which is, to repeat Simone Pètrement's expression, " much more ancient than one thinks ". They are those of beginning, totality, struggle, escape and choice. They are current on the most diverse levels of thought, and I find them in the least civilized of men, naturally in non-explicit form.

Primitive man does not indulge in speculation ; he is too much occupied with living. He is engaged in his action and bound to his collectivity. But watching him live we perceive the mental attitude which rules his existence.

We see, then, that the life of the primitive is passed in performing actions in imitation of his elders who have themselves learnt them from their forefathers. One acts as one has always acted. The success of all actions—necessary to the subsistence of the individual and the group—is ensured by their conforming to patterns. The primitive believes these patterns to have really existed, before time began, in the form of mythical events. This seems to be the very core of mythology. (One might refer to Malinowski, Levi-Bruhl, Eliade.)

As the first natural category we therefore have the *primordial pattern*.

The second category is that of totality. Nothing is easier or more widespread than to conceive totality. How often do we hear absolutely general statements like these : " The world is badly made ", " life is sweet ", etc. ; judgments in which the person who speaks and the universe of which he is part are comprised in a single indistinct grasp.

A similar conception is to be observed in all the religions : man communicates with the whole world ; he influences the

cosmic powers. A man offering a sacrifice does as much as Joshua did when he made the sun stand still, or more : every morning he makes it rise.

A correspondence is apparent—differently developed in the religions of China, of Babylonia, etc.—between the acts of man and those of the universe, between heaven and earth, between life and the stars, between social functions and cosmic functions.

With the Indo-Iranians, and perhaps already with our common ancestors the Indo-Europeans, this correspondence took the form of an equivalence between the law of man and the law of the world : the same term, Indo-Iranian *Rta*, describes the cosmic order, the religious order, the moral order.

The researches of Georges Dumézil have established that the organization of the Indo-Europeans—with its hierarchy of functions—was reflected in their pantheon, in the hierarchy of their gods. Besides, there was a tendency for an abstract entity to become associated with each god and each function, which it defined.

We shall see presently what sort of system thus took form with the Indo-Iranians. But first a few words must be said about the method.

Nothing in Iran prior to Zarathustra is known to us directly, as our oldest texts date back only to Zarathustra himself. How then are we to know what existed before he came ? Fortunately many elements in the Iranian religion and literature bear so close a resemblance to Indian features that this similarity points undoubtedly to a common origin. A comparison of the Avesta and the Veda therefore enables us to reconstruct the stage of civilization which was that of the Iranians and Indians before they parted company. This stage, *a fortiori*, precedes Zarathustra's emergence in Iran.

This is roughly the Indo-Iranian system which we can reconstruct :

<i>Gods</i>	<i>Concepts</i>	<i>Functions</i>
The two <i>Váyu</i> s	The two <i>Manyus</i>	“initium”
<i>Varuna</i>	<i>Rta</i> “Order, Right”	} “divine” sovereignty
<i>Mitra</i>	<i>Manas</i> “Mind”	
<i>Indra</i>	<i>Kshatra</i> “Dominion”	war
The two <i>Násatyas</i>	{ <i>Sarvatât</i> “Integrity” <i>Amṛta</i> “Immortality” }	} prosperity
River goddess	<i>Aramati</i> “Piety”	
<i>Agni</i>	the fire (<i>âtar</i>)	“finis”

But by what means is this correspondence, this conformity actualized? We distinguish easily two principal modes of communication : action and thought ; and arising from action a specific means : the sacrifice. Without wishing to present in three sentences a theory of the sacrifice, I simply recall that the victim is not only cut up and distributed—to gods and men—but frequently also scattered, for instance on the field to be fertilized.

The Indo-Iranians practise the blood sacrifice, and also two other forms of sacrifice. They indulge in the ritual manufacture of an intoxicating liquor, the soma, which is then offered up and consumed. They know also the fire sacrifice. The fire has from time immemorial been a means of participating in the universe. As we have hinted, the sacrificer who lighted his morning fire made the sun rise. The Upanishads, Indian treatises which are more or less contemporaneous with Zoroaster, teach that the fire is present—through stars and lightning—in the whole of the universe ; that the universe itself is nothing but a vast sacrificial fire.

This leads us on to stress the connection of the entire system with nature. Dumézil, preoccupied as he was with bringing to light the system itself and its essentially social character,

neglected the current conception of the Indo-Iranian gods as nature gods. But I think we may now bring this conception back into the picture. In so doing, we will make it not only more complete but more coherent and articulate.

Varuna and Mitra are heavenly gods ; their particular domain is the sky of the stars, moon and sun. Indra, the god of thunder, has his headquarters in the atmosphere, between the sky and the earth. The Nâsatyas, together with the River Goddess, preside over health and food and thus belong more especially to the Earth ; in fact, Aramati, (devotion) appears in India to be another name for the Earth. As to Agni, Fire, he is, as taught in the Upanishads, all-pervading ; and so is the wind or spirit, whose unsurpassed rapidity ensures him the first rank. In conclusion, we may state that the hierarchy of the gods is in agreement with what one might call their topography.

The analogy of fire, lightning and stars, of which we spoke, involves a mode of communication by thought or meditation. Through analogy, then—which we see, for example, in full operation in the Upanishads—relations of correspondence are established between each part of the human body and each part of the universe, between the physiological cycles of man and natural phenomena such as rain, vegetation, etc.

The category of *Totality* is thus brought into play.

Having possessed himself of the ideas of Beginning and of All, man combines them : he conceives the Origin of All. This is so important a conception with all peoples that it has been maintained that any mythology is essentially a cosmogony. The cosmogony naturally reflects the two processes by which man corresponds with the universe.

Firstly : action, and, to begin with, sacrifice. Various cosmogonies put at the origin the sacrifice of a primordial man, the parts of whom become the parts of the universe. Another kind of action, the activity of the artisan, leads to envisaging

the universe as constituted of one or several substances or raw materials. An important doctrine, and one which is at the origins of modern materialism. But it does not appear in Iran.

The other cosmogonies, in relation with the second mode of correspondence, see in the universe the effect of a thought. Examples of this are found notably in Egypt, India, Greece, and the simplest and most beautiful occurs in the first words of Genesis.

To complete this brief outline, three more ideas must be added to it : Those of *conflict*, *escape* and *choice*. They call for some elucidation.

We have seen that man communes with totality. But, do what he will, he is far from always maintaining a state of harmony with his surroundings. His picture of the world is, like his own life, full of struggle, of conflict. He peoples the universe with beings, or forces, which are either benevolent or hostile to him, and a great many myths deal with battles between them. Each victory brings about an equilibrium, a new order.

Similarly, most religious acts aim precisely at a restoration of harmony, at effacing a failure or a mishap : such is the meaning of the numerous rituals of purification and renewal.

Other rituals may be means of escaping from an unbearable situation or condition, or from the world at large.

By means of the sacred liquor the sacrificer of Vedic times identified himself with his gods, that is to say he conquered the celestial immortality. It was the same in pre-Zoroastrian Iran, where the sacrificial drink was called "the remover of death". The blood sacrifice served the same aim, and it was the same in Greece, in the Dionysos cult, to quote only the most striking example.

But divinization appears liable to depreciation : the more it

becomes accessible, the less one believes in it, or it appears no longer sufficient. This seems to have been the case in Egypt and Greece : it certainly was in India. For the Buddhist, to be reborn a god is not the most enviable fate. The question is how to escape entirely from the cycle of existences. This aspiration appears already in the Upanishads. And the devaluation of the devas seems to have begun in the Indo-Iranian era, for Iran knows them no longer as gods but only as demons. The Yoga, the Indian asceticism, consists—as Mircea Eliade has recently shown in *Techniques du Yoga*—in communing with the world at first to be able later to detach oneself completely from it.

Communion or aloofness, pantheism or asceticism—are those the only two attitudes? We shall see that there is a third, midway between the two. It was Zoroaster who promoted it.

We will now analyse Zoroaster's originality with reference to the three ideas of our natural philosophy.

Zoroaster understood that the essential act, for every man, is to choose between good and evil. The notions of good and evil, of order and error, did exist before him, but he discovered in them an absolutely universal value. How did he conceive and express this value? According to the manner of thinking which is natural to his primitive level. Like all our acts, the act of choosing had, for him, a prototype at the beginning of time, in the mythical reality. Two spirits met and chose, one good, the other evil, thus bringing about a general cleavage of the universe.

This brings the category of Totality into play. We will see what Zoroaster's conception of the world is. The conception was a new one. Zoroaster rejects the blood sacrifice and the offering of the sacred liquor. The gods who have been taking part in these sacrifices are now starved. He eliminates them, together with the myths concerning them. In this way he

brings to a head the process of depreciation which we have mentioned. It is the first Twilight of the Gods.

Zoroaster rejects even the most venerated among them, the Asuras or Lords, sovereign gods, magician gods, who enjoyed particular approbation in Iran, including the great Mithra, in favour of a single Ahura *par excellence*, the Wise Lord, Ahura Mazda.

With Ahura Mazda as the only god, the notions hitherto associated—in the Indo-Iranian cosmology—with the other *ahuras* and the *daevas* become subordinated to him. Without losing all their primitive meaning, these notions yet come to be only aspects of the Wise Lord, modalities of his action. The elements of struggle which lay scattered in the myths of various gods, demons and monsters, are by Zoroaster welded beyond recognition into a single universal conflict between good and evil, in which god and man take part together. Thus *by the will of a man of genius, the traditional mythology and polytheism made way for a true theology*. Its outlines are these :

Three entities stand supreme and thus form a kind of superior Triad. This is first of all the Holy Spirit. It is God, the origin of all good and exemplar of the good choice. Of all the entities this is the only one which has been declared identical with the Lord himself. It is God inasmuch as he has chosen the good, life, light, wisdom ; and God inasmuch as he has created and organized the world for the good of mankind.

The second entity, Order or Right, is also placed very high in the whole of the divine modalities. It is the ideal law, the divine plan, the measure of all human action, but out of all contact with man. It ranks highest in the council of God. It does not act, except by its presence and existence. One acts in relation to it, in conformity with it.

It is quite different with the Good Mind, which is God turned towards man, God revealing himself to man and helping man.

It is essentially active, and human virtue as much as divine virtue, for human co-operation is as essential to the divine work as divine assistance is indispensable to man.

The intimate relation which unites the Wise Lord with the three first terms of the hierarchy is metaphorically expressed as a parental relationship. The Wise Lord is the Father of Right, the Father of Good Mind. He is, too, the Father of the Holy Spirit with whom he is besides identical. A Father identical with his Son who is the Holy Ghost—is there not stuff for dreams, six centuries before Jesus Christ? But Zoroastrianism did not grow in this direction.

The relation with the other entities is less immediate. Thus Devotion is not directly the daughter of the Wise Lord, but the daughter of Good Mind, whose Father is the Wise Lord. We see the gradation, the successive delegation of the powers of God.

Devotion is often associated with Dominion, as obedience is with rule. She has hands, and is the diligent zeal which ensures the execution of the good commands.

Zoroaster incessantly scrutinizes the multiple relations which unite the entities among themselves. Shall man contribute to Right through Devotion, the daughter of Good Mind? Is Dominion itself, like Devotion, born of Good Mind, etc.

*He who first by the mind filled the blessed spaces with light,
He created Righteousness by his will,
By which he upholds Best Mind.
Thou hast, O Wise One, increased it by thy Spirit
Which is even now one with thee, O Lord!
Through the mind, O Wise One, have I known thee as the first
and the last,
As the Father of Good Mind,
When I perceived thee with mine eyes as the true creator of Right,
As the Lord in the deeds of existence . . .*

Integrity and Immortality, at the bottom of the hierarchy and nearly always coupled, have only an accessory rôle. They are added to the bliss of the righteous in the Dominion of Good Mind as a natural complement.

Besides the virtuous action—cattle-raising, fighting against the wicked, etc.—man has another means of uniting himself to God. This is the sacrifice, which creates a mystic bond between men and god.

But only one form of sacrifice is compatible with the new doctrine : the fire sacrifice. Zoroaster remembers that (as is also taught in the Upanishads ; and is this not philosophy ?) the whole universe is a sacrificial fire, that there is a fundamental identity between the fire and the cosmic law. And as this, in Zoroaster's own conception, is nothing else but the Righteousness of the Wise Lord, it can be seen how he may be worshipped under the symbol of the fire : (

At the offering of veneration to thy fire, I will think of Righteousness, of Lord, as long as I have power !

Zoroaster's proscription of blood sacrifices led to a corresponding purification in his cosmogony. He recognizes no longer, at the beginning of the world, a sacrifice of a man or an animal whose parts become the universe. He still speaks of a primordial ox, but this is not sacrificed.

Whence, then, is the world born ? From God ; and a God conceived not merely as an artisan but as acting directly through the mind. These are the terms in which Zoroaster, in an impulse of eloquence which recalls Bossuet, describes this God who moreover has the significant name of Wise Lord :

He who, through the mind, filled the blessed spaces with light . . .

Elsewhere, in a series of questions which are quite rhetorical as he who puts them knows the answer beforehand, he details the cosmic and human work of this Architect :

*Who was the first father of Righteousness, at the birth ?
Who appointed their path to sun and stars ?
Who thou is it through whom the moon waxes and wanes ?
Who set the Earth below in its place and the sky of the clouds,
that it shall not fall ?*

*Who the waters and the plants ?
Who yoked their swift steeds to wind and clouds ?
Who, O Wise One, is the creator of Good Mind ?*

*What artificer made both light and darkness ?
What artificer made sleeping and waking ?
Who made morning, noon, and night,
That remind the wise man of his task ?*

A last feature of Zoroaster's originality is the driving power of his vision of the world. He does not state the order of the universe as an existing condition ; he announces it as a programme.

According to the ancient mythology the world regained periodically the youth of its golden age. Zoroaster proclaims the coming of a golden age as definitive : it is the Dominion or the Kingdom, the reign of Order, which will transform the universe. A judgment will decide between the good and the wicked. Only the good will have part in this new life. Zoroaster is the first apocalypt.

But when will this triumph of good be realized ? He announces it as being near ; he sees it happening on this earth, and perhaps in his lifetime. But he does not seem to have distinguished clearly whether it will be here below, or after death, or at the end of time—or all three together.

In any case, the renovation of the world—the beginning of the second life—will be the counterpart of the origins of actual existence : the final reward will correspond to the primordial choice. Cosmogony and eschatology are in strict equilibrium.

Zoroaster did not give himself out to be the redeemer. When his prayers call the redeemer who is to renew existence, he means the prince who shall accept his doctrine and realize the Dominion of Righteousness and Good Mind. He even allows the rôle of redeemer to any man, provided he practises righteousness :

*When, O Wise One, shall Devotion come with Righteousness,
When, with the Dominion, the good dwelling rich in pastures ?
Who are they that shall give safety from the bloodthirsty
wicked ?*

To whom will come the doctrine of Good Mind ?

The future redeemers of the peoples

Are they who through Good Mind strive in their deeds

*To carry out the judgment which thou hast decreed, O Wise One,
as Righteousness.*

For they are the appointed foes of fury.

The Indo-Iranians had the idea of a " heaven " and a " hell ". On the other hand, the conception of a more or less narrow and dangerous passage which must be crossed to reach the beyond, forms a part of the oldest fund of primitive representations of future life. Moral worth is not necessarily connected with either of these conceptions. However, the idea of a recompense after death for human conduct was not unknown to the Indo-Iranians either, even though they had not developed it systematically. And the Iranians—some Iranians at any rate, as can be seen by the Achaemenid religion—had established a relation between veneration of Arta and future bliss : those who had practised righteousness were called *artavan* after their death.

This conception coexisted with the more primitive one—and one entirely unconnected with morality—of the *fravarti*, the

souls of the dead who survive in the vicinity of the grave and remain in contact with the living.

Zarathustra included some of these data in his doctrine, systematizing them but not succeeding in giving them an entirely logical form.

To begin with, he does not mention the *fravarti* at all. This is easily understood. There was no room for them in a system where the fate of all human beings is decided in a clear-cut manner: Those who have chosen the side of Arta will be rewarded in the abode of light, where they will find good food, etc.; the others, the followers of the Druj, will go to a dwelling of darkness, where they will find suffering, bad food, etc. Not in the shape of a *fravarti*, indifferent to good and evil, will the human being meet the destiny of the righteous or the wicked, but as *urvan*, "soul", or *daina*, "conscience, inner intuition".

The separation will be made by judgment of Ahura Mazda, in the way in which divine preference traditionally manifests itself: by the ordeal of fire and molten metal.

Where will this judgment of all men take place? At the entry to the "Bridge of the Separator", which will, moreover, have to be crossed successfully afterwards, as if the division of the good and the wicked had not already been made. . . . Obviously Zarathustra has taken from the traditional mythology an accessory which was henceforth superfluous. Was he conscious of this "doubling"? We do not know; but in any case he has not tried to eliminate the "bridge" in favour of the judgment by fire. On the contrary, he took care to give it the Zoroastrian stamp. Not only does he promise those who help him to "cross with them the Bridge of the Separator", but this "Separator" is, as follows from Yasna 46.17, none other than Mazda himself. For the rest of the doctrine of life after death—that is, essentially, for the representation of bliss—

the "naturalization" has been developed in the same way, in the sense that the Entities intervene in it. As this is equally the case with the apocalyptic doctrine, we must return to this for a moment before we finish with an outline of this rôle of the Entities.

Not everything is new in the idea, so specifically Zoroastrian, of an apocalypse, a renovation of existence. As we have mentioned before, the Indo-Iranians, like many other peoples, knew a myth of the golden age; they also knew the conception of an abode of the blessed which was reserved for the privileged, a Land of Cockaigne to which one had access without dying and where one did not die; and they had a conception of the end of the world by conflagration.

Zarathustra took up these conceptions, and where necessary dispossessed the figure of Yama, who was formerly the patron of the first two, and reviled him expressly. He then combined these conceptions into a picture which is that of his own Apocalypse.

It will now be grasped how it is possible for very ancient features to exist side by side with new traits in Zarathustra's conceptions concerning the Renovation as well as the After-life. For example, one of the names which describe the abode of the righteous, the House of Song, recalls, as Söderblom has seen, the songs heard, according to RV x.135, in Yama's heaven. On the other hand, the Entities play their part in these conceptions. This abode is often called the "dwelling of Vahu Manah", and the "pasture of Vahu Manah" is also mentioned; and according to other passages the reward of the righteous is to possess Vahu Manah himself. Khshathra also designates this paradise, under the name of "Dominion of Good Mind" (Y.33.5) or "Dominion of blessings" (Y.28.9). The food of the blessed will be the pair of entities Harvatât-Amrtât, the second of which thus perpetuates as far as the Zoroastrian heaven

the old idea and even the name of ambrosia. Arta too is present, but, as it were, at the entrance to this dwelling and in the shape of his "associate" the fire—which is also the fire of Mazdah : by this fire is the ordeal accomplished.¹

¹ Only Aramati appears to have no part in the Apocalypse or in the Afterlife.

THE ORDER OF THE GĀTHĀS

It is not known in what order the Gāthās were composed. Their logical connection is equally unknown. That is to say that any order in which these poems are presented is necessarily artificial.

But none could be more so than the one in which they are arranged in the Avesta. The principle of this traditional classification is, in fact, purely external, following the practice which is general in collections of Persian poetry. They are arranged according to the length of their verses.

This leaves us free to try a rearrangement, aiming deliberately at the better orientation of the reader, an arrangement, be it stressed, purely of convenience, but, we believe, useful.

In Yasna 50 (pp. 27 to 33) Zarathustra puts his trust in the Triad and asks its help in temporal and spiritual matters. He tells again and again how he will praise it: "I will call myself your praiser . . ." Thus he will work at the *renewal of existence*.

Yasna 48 (pp. 34 to 39) shows by what means this *reform of the world* will be realized: it will be the work of *Devotion* and *Dominion*. The righteous will be the authors of this renewal: they will be the saviours of the peoples.

In Yasna 34 (pp. 40 to 47) Zarathustra *prays for the coming of this renewal*: "Through your Dominion, O Lord, do thou make existence truly renewed according to thy will!"

Yasna 33 (pp. 48 to 55) first concerns the present existence and then defines the future rôle of Zarathustra, the *mission* to which he feels himself called.

This rôle is illustrated by the Gāthā of the *Ox Soul*, Yasna 29

(pp. 56 to 61), where he introduces himself into the general drama of existence : Zarathustra the priest secures the protection of the mighty for the herdsmen.

Yasna 44 (pp. 63 to 73) continues the theme in form of a series of *questions to the Lord*. Zarathustra seeks information on the progress of the world as the Lord has willed it, from "the birth" to "the better existence" : then, while claiming, not without threats, his wages as a priest, he asks anxiously *what will be the success of his mission*.

Yasna 46 (pp. 74 to 83) at first shows him anything but sure of this success : deprived of means and protection, he has no choice but *flight*. But later he finds followers and even a protector, prince Vištāspa : *he prays for them* and promises prosperity to them all if they help him to renew this world.

In the whole of Yasna 28 (pp. 84 to 89) *he prays again for them* as well as for himself. He begs the Triad for the successes of both worlds. Lastly he asks for the power to teach mankind "how the *beginning of existence* came to pass".

(This power is granted to him.) In Yasna 45 (pp. 90 to 97) he does preach—to a crowd that has come from far and near—on *the origin of things*. In a "summary of the doctrine" he successively presents (in a given order) the Entities. Then the listeners join with him in glorifying *the Lord*.

The whole of Yasna 47 (pp. 98 to 101) is devoted to *the Lord* : beginning with the first words of each of the six stanzas the Lord is present in them in the form of *the Holy Spirit*. This Spirit is the creator and ruler of the world. But his designs have been crossed by the wicked. Therefore he will distribute good and evil rewards among them and the righteous. This prospect—with the desire for reward—must urge mankind to decide, *to choose*.

This *choice* is modelled on the *original choice* which is the subject of Yasna 30 (pp. 102 to 107). The two twin Spirits have

met and opposed each other ; then the false gods have chosen ; and it is now the turn of each man. This account of the original option is balanced by the announcement of its final consequence : the ruin of the wicked and the success of the righteous in the renewed existence.

Yasna 31. (pp. 108 to 117) is a *Second Gāthā of the Choice* which develops and completes the preceding one. The general composition is the same : the body of the poem is divided into a "genesis" and an "apocalypse".

Yasna 32 (pp. 118 to 125) is connected with the two preceding ones and forms with them a group dominated by the idea of the *Choice*. Here it is the Wise Lord himself who chooses : he chooses the righteous and rejects the false gods and their followers, especially the sacrificers of the ox, *Grahma* and others.

Zoroaster attacks yet another enemy of the Lord, *Bandva*, in the two first stanzas of Yasna 49 (pp. 126 to 131). The body of the poem is devoted to contrasting the future fate of the righteous with that of the wicked.

Yasna 43 (pp. 132 to 139) casts a *retrospective glance* at Zarathustra's "religious experience". He gives, as it were, a historical account of his divine election. How has the holiness of the Lord revealed itself to his prophet?—He has "seen" the ordering of the world, according to the doctrine of the rewards, from the "birth of existence" to the "last turning-point". Then the Lord came to him : each declared himself to the other. They exchanged promises, doctrines, and commands.—At the end Zarathustra calls *the shining Dominion* with his prayers.

This *Good Dominion* is the subject of Yasna 51 (pp. 140 to 149). Zarathustra is determined to bring about its coming. He counts up first those who want to hinder him and shall be punished, then those who help him and shall receive their

reward. The hymn ends with a prayer and homage to the dispensers of all holiness and all salvation : the united immortals, Right, Good Mind, Devotion, Dominion, Wise Lord . . .

The *Marriage Gāthā*, Yasna 53 (pp. 151 to 157), takes its place after the others as a matter of course, as it is not by Zarathustra himself. It throws light on the beginning of the fate of the religion after the death of the Founder.

YASNA 50

Zarathustra comes before his god, the *Wise Lord*, like a bard of ancient times. In the main part of the hymn—stanzas 4 to 11—he tells him his intention of praising and worshipping him by the traditional means which we know: in the attitude of prayer, with outstretched hands, he will sing verses, thus, in the manner of the poets of the *Veda*, harnessing swift steeds which will speed towards the divinity and bring him back to the worshipper.

But there is more. He knows that he is not just any professional of prayer. He is conscious of a personal relation with his Lord. He is his prophet: Zarathustra. He is certain that he may expect a manifest aid from him, and he asks him for inspiration.

He needs divine guidance for his tongue so that his praise may be worthy of its object and his preaching be effective and bring to the Lord the hymns of other men. He counts on this intervention because he has a pact with the Right. God will act in him by mental impulse and by that aspect of him which is turned towards the world: the Good Mind.

Through all this "elevation" appear, like filigree-work, the relations which unite the *Wise Lord*, the *Right*, and the *Good Mind* in a mystical communion as the persons of a Trinity.

THIS triad is present from the first stanza, where it is invoked as the only resource, the only refuge, the only protection. With this stanza the hymn begins *ex abrupto*, in a pathetic question :

What help shall my soul expect from anyone ?

This help, of which he is in great need, is material (" the protection of my cattle ") as well as spiritual (" in the invocation ", that is to say, no doubt, in the communion by prayer). The Wise Lord, the Right and the Good Mind only can bring this succour.

The two following stanzas resume this idea with regard to material help, the rest of the hymn, to spiritual help.

Stanza 2, like the preceding one, begins with a question : How to obtain the ox ? The answer establishes a necessary relation between prosperity and Righteousness. The former is the reward of the latter : it is within reach of any man who lives on this earth—" among the multitude that sees the sun "—provided he lives according to Order.

Stanza 3 specifies one particular kind of the righteous to whom the ox, the source of this prosperity, will thus be granted : those who seize the lands of an enemy of the Right and make them bear fruit. It must undoubtedly be understood that the practice of Righteousness requires in particular violent intervention against those who despise it. Is it by accident that the Dominion is named here, as well as the Triad—the Dominion which represents the martial function, or more generally the temporal, " political ", power ?

This entity appears again in stanza 4, always in union with its superiors. The end of this stanza discourages the translator by its obscurity, but its beginning at least clearly indicates a change of theme :

I will worship you with praise, O Wise Lord, etc.,

a transition from the material to the spiritual plane, in pursuance of the word " invocation " of the first stanza.

I

What help shall my soul expect from anyone,
 In whom am I to put my trust as a protector for my cattle,
 In whom for myself, in the invocation,
 But in the Right, in thee, Wise Lord, and the Best Mind?

2

How is he to obtain the cattle which brings prosperity, O Wise
 One,
 He who desires it, together with its pastures?
 —Those who, among the many that behold the sun,
 Live uprightly, according to Righteousness . . .

3

He also, O Wise One, shall receive from Righteousness the
 cattle
 —Promised with the Dominion and the Good Mind—
 Who, by the power of his (?) fortune (?),
 Shall make the neighbouring lands prosper for himself
 Which are still in a wicked one's possession.

4

I will worship you with praise, O Wise Lord,
 Together with Righteousness, Best Mind, and the Dominion,
 Who, desired by the zealous . . .

The prophet may be sure of spiritual aid from his Lord—just as the righteous may count on obtaining the ox—for Righteousness commands not only prosperity. The Wise Lord identifies himself with it—stanza 5 mentions only those two—and has only to make a sign—a sign with his hand—to give beatitude. And this is assured to the prophet. Why?

The answer is implied in stanza 6: because Zarathustra has a pact with the Right, because he is its sworn friend. The Lord will therefore set the Good Mind—which is, as it were, his Providence—in motion in his favour. Through it he will send inspiration, he will make known his precepts so that Zoroaster may repeat them. He is invoked here as the “creator of the mind’s force” because he is asked for spiritual intervention.

It should be noted that each stanza from the sixth to the last mentions the Wise Lord, the Right, and the Good Mind, and mentions them exclusively. These entities¹ here manifest their mutual relations, and their reciprocal positions change from stanza to stanza, as in a slowly turning roundel: it seems that the successive allusion to these various relations is one of the purposes of these stanzas. The reader must expect some monotony: he should therefore pay attention not so much to the theme as to the variations.

In stanza 7 the Wise One and the Right are invoked together. They dwell, as it were, side by side in heaven. The Good Mind, who gives strength to the steeds of praise, raises the appeal of the prophet up to them, to tighten the relation between them and him, and they approach the worshipper.

In stanzas 8 and 9 the movement proceeds from him: the devout poet will come before the Wise One—or the Right, for

¹ For simplicity’s sake I shall from now on apply this term even to the Lord, although it is understood that, strictly speaking, he is apart from the entities. I shall also employ the word Triad, or Trinity, to break the monotony.

5

The signs of the hand which shall bring us to bliss
 Are assured to us indeed by you, Wise Lord as Righteousness,
 Together with a visible, manifest help,
 Because you look with favour upon your prophet.

6

To me, Zarathustra, the prophet and sworn friend of Righteousness,
 Lifting my voice with veneration, O Wise One,
 May the creator of the mind's force show, as Good Mind,
 His precepts, that they may be the path of my tongue.

7

I will harness for you, O Wise One with Righteousness,
 By the spur of your praise the swiftest steeds,
 (?) Broad (?) and strong through the Good Mind,
 Upon which you shall draw near. May you be ready to aid me !

8

With hands outstretched I will approach you, O Wise One,
 With verses which are the song of zeal,
 You, as Righteousness, with the veneration of the zealous one,
 You, with all the strength of the Good Mind.

they are one ; he will worship with zeal and fervour, but also, as in stanza 7, by the grace of the Good Mind who will give vigour to his song.

In stanza 9 a new idea appears : there are two ways of praising the Lord : by hymns, and by deeds. Stanza 10 alters the distinction : this time it is no longer the duality " men—acts " which praises the Lord, but the duality " acts of men—beauty of nature " : by his future actions as well as by those of the past Zarathustra will bring himself into unison with the " heavens which declare the glory of God " of which the Psalmist sings. It is noteworthy that Zoroaster does not speak of the order of things as of a cold mechanism ; he contemplates it under the impression which these things, " precious to the eye ", make on him, an impression of beauty which is also a gift of the Good Mind, or rather an " act " of the Good Mind ; while as a regulated mechanism they would come within the sphere of the Right (the ancient Order)—but here the Right dwells in heaven.

In the final stanza Zarathustra claims the title of praiser of the Wise One ; he will perform this office—here the relations change—" while the Right will give him power ", that is, as a function assigned by the supreme Order. This function is thus sublimated and incorporated with the " great acts which are in the heavens " (if I may quote Paul Valéry) : such is the pact between Zarathustra and the Right. Through the Good Mind—in inverse sense—the creator will " providentially " intervene in the world to accomplish its renovation : this is the wish with which the hymn ends.

9

With these hymns I would come before you, O Wise One,
 Praising you as Righteousness, with the deeds of the Good Mind.
 When I shall deal as I will with my portion of bliss,
 May I set into motion the hymns of the man of insight.

10

The deeds which I shall do and those which I have done ere now,
 And the things which are precious to the eye, through Good
 Mind,
 The light of the sun, the sparkling dawn of the days,
 All this is for your praise, O Wise Lord, as Righteousness !

11

I will call myself and be your praiser, O Wise One,
 While I can and may, through Righteousness.
 May the creator of existence further through Good Mind
 Its fulfilment of that which is most renewing
 In accord with the will (of the creator).

YASNA 48

This Gāthā might be called "The Reform of Existence" or "Devotion and Dominion". In it four introductory stanzas are easily distinguished which precede a body of seven.

THE prophet knows—and he recalls it to begin with—that the rewards after death will decide in favour of the Right against Evil, for the glory of the Lord.

But what he wants to know, and to learn from the Wise Lord, is whether this superiority of Good will already be expressed in the existence here below by the triumph of the righteous over the wicked: will the world be reformed?

The answer is certainly to be found in the doctrines which the Holy Lord knows and reveals to the initiate. The supreme triad is already mentioned in stanza 3: everything depends on it.

Stanza 4, the place of which in the general line of the hymn is not clearly recognizable, allots a separate fate to those who, in contrast to the initiate who has been mentioned before, do not adhere to the Lord and vacillate between good and evil according to their whim.

★

★

★

In the body of the hymn the means by which the reform of existence will be brought about become apparent: the action of Devotion and Dominion. The rôles of both are indicated successively, for the former in stanzas 5 and 6, for the latter in the four following stanzas; then the two appear together in stanza 11, and the twelfth stanza brings the conclusion.

1

When at the time of the rewards he shall conquer Evil through
 the Right,
 When the alternative shall be fulfilled
 Which was foretold for immortality to both false gods and
 mortals,
 Then shall the salvation (of so many beings) increase thy
 worship, O Lord !

2

Tell me the things which thou knowest, O Lord.
 Shall the righteous man defeat the wicked one, O Wise One,
 Even before the coming of the punishments which thou hast
 conceived ?
 For this is known as the good renewal of existence.

3

For the initiate, that is the best of the doctrines
 Which the beneficent Lord teaches, as Righteousness, the Holy
 One which thou art,
 Thou who knowest also, O Wise One,
 Through the strength of Good Mind the secret doctrines.

4

(?) He who makes his thought better and worse, O Wise One,
 Better and worse his conscience, by deed and by word,
 He follows his leanings, his wishes, his likings.
 In thy mind's force, at the end of times, he shall be set apart.

★

★

★

It will be noticed at once that the doctrine contained in this hymn is not *stated*: the prophet often prefers the interrogative or optative to the indicative mood and the affirmative form:

May good rulers, not bad ones, rule over us!

.

When, O Wise One, shall the warriors understand the message? etc.

It is important to consider this if one is not to miss the essential trait of Zarathustra's style: vehemence bent on action and search, a crowded mass of questions, obscenations, commands, admonitions, prayers, the *élan* of which would be killed by cold analysis.

The first verse, quoted above, desires the coming of good rulers: the Good Dominion is not mentioned, but it is implied. Then Devotion appears. At the beginning of the development there are thus the two entities on whom—under the aegis of the supreme triad—the reform of the world must depend more particularly. The rest of the stanza and the whole of the following one deal with Devotion. It is she who ensures rebirth to man, by making him breed and fatten the cattle: a function of prosperity, over which she presides essentially.

Her action and her gift of "good shelter, strength and endurance" depend on the Triad—this is taught, dogmatically this time, by stanza 6—and more particularly on the Good Mind (which, as we have seen elsewhere, protects cattle-raising); but also, and more originally, on the Wise Lord and the Right (natural Order) without whom there would be no plants, therefore no cattle-raising and no prosperity! This creation of the plants is at the basis of everything, at the very origin of this present existence which is to be reformed.

In each of the stanzas 6 to 10—except the last—care is taken to recall the pre-eminence of the three great Entities as they are mentioned.

5

May good rulers, not bad ones, rule over us !
 By the works of the good doctrine, O Devotion,
 Prepare the greatest good for man : rebirth ;
 Through the labour of husbandry, let the ox grow fat for our
 nourishment.

6

She has given us good shelter, strength and endurance,
 She, the consecrated of the Good Mind.
 For her has the Wise Lord as Righteousness made the plants
 to grow
 At the birth of the first existence.

7

Let Fury be suppressed ! Put down violence,
 You who would ensure yourselves, through Righteousness,
 The reward of the Good Mind, whose companion is the holy
 man.
 He shall have his abode in thy house, O Lord !

8

(?) How shall the possession of thy good Dominion, O Wise
 One,
 How that of thy reward be mine, O Lord ?
 How will thy manifestation, as Righteousness, of the actions
 Be welcomed (?) by the faithful ?

In stanza 7 there is an abrupt transition from the third "function" to the second: this is a call to take up arms:

Let fury be suppressed! . . .

To fight fury and violence, the enemies of Good Mind and Righteousness, is the duty of everyone who desires to dwell in the house of the Lord as a reward.

But this idea of the reward immediately—in stanza 8, which is not very clear—raises questions on the manner in which it will be conferred.

In stanza 9 Zarathustra counts on obtaining the answer. He will learn that the Wise One and the Right have power (Dominion) over "those who threaten him with destruction". Those are therefore condemned. But the prophet must be able, through the Good Mind, to give correct instruction in his duties to him who shall save the world: the desired good ruler. Here is the annunciation of the saviour, the just king who will establish the reign of the Good Dominion for the reform of existence.

Zarathustra is impatient to see him and his men carry out the message of the Lord and destroy the wicked rulers. In stanza 10 it becomes clearer of what enemies the prophet speaks in the preceding one. They are hostile rulers who continue to sacrifice animals and to manufacture the *hauma* (which Zarathustra calls "filth"!). These rulers and their priests deceive their people. Devotion and Dominion will triumph over these bad masters and evil killers through Righteousness, and bring prosperity. But when (stanza 11)? And through whom? That is to say: What men will be indoctrinated according to the Good Mind for this work of "liberation"?

The final stanza gives the answer to these questions. Any man will be the saviour of the peoples who will seek to realize the Righteousness of the Lord by his acts, through the Good Mind. God has destined these men to conquer violence, the dominion of the wicked.

When I shall know whether you have power, O Wise One,
 and Righteousness,
 Over all those who threaten me with destruction,
 Let the prayer of the Good Mind be rightly spoken by me !
May the future Saviour know what his destiny will be !

10

When, O Wise One, will the warriors understand the message ?
 When wilt thou smite this filth of drink
 Through which the sacrificers wickedly
 And the evil masters of the countries of their own will
 Commit their deeds of malice ?

11

When, O Wise One, shall Devotion come with Righteousness ?
 When with the Dominion the good dwelling rich in pastures ?
 Who are they that will give safety from the bloodthirsty wicked ?
 Who they to whom the doctrine of Good Mind will come ?

12

Those are the future saviours of the peoples
 Who through Good Mind strive in their deeds
 To carry out the judgment which thou has decreed, O Wise
 One, as Righteousness.
 For they were created the foes of Fury.

YASNA 34

This Gāthā is a prayer to the Lord, before the sacred fire, for the coming of the Dominion and the renewal of existence.

The general theme is indicated in the first three stanzas. Next, the body of the hymn, stanzas 4 to 11, is devoted to the distinction of the good and the wicked. Finally, in stanzas 12 to 15, Zarathustra submits himself to the commands of the Lord: taking up again the motif of the beginning, he asks him what path is to be followed, and prays for the renewal.

STANZA 1 asks the Lord for a part in his bounty for Zarathustra and his own, by the effect of the actions, the words, and the cult (essentially of the mind, for it holds the place of the thoughts in the formula of the human triad), for which the Lord, with the Right, has promised Immortality and Integrity in his Dominion.

In stanza 2 the actions of man, if inspired by the Right, are seen carried to the Entities, in the superior world which they inhabit, by the hymn which he addresses to them and which is received by the Mind of the Lord, that of the Spirit.

May these praises to the Lord and to the Right be effective and cause all creatures, as well as the wise man, to achieve their destiny in the Dominion of the Lord by the mediation of his Providence (Good Mind) ! (3).

* * *

1

Through the many deeds, words, and praises,
 For which thou wilt give, O Wise One and Righteousness,
 Immortality and the Dominion of Integrity,
 Let us, O Lord, share in thy bounty !

2

(?) Through thy Mind and that of the good and holy Spirit
 Are all the deeds of him whose soul is united to Righteousness
 Laid away in the other world,
 In the hymn with song of praise addressed unto such as you,
 O Wise One !

3

We will make offering unto thee with worship, O Lord, and
 to the Right,
 That you may achieve through Good Mind the destiny of all
 creatures in the Dominion.
 For the salvation of the man of insight among such as you,
 O Wise One, will hold good for everyone.

★

★

★

In stanza 4, the fire is present, as it were : “ for him who exalts it ” quite evidently refers to the prophet himself and to those who take part in his prayer. May this fire—the incarnation of Righteousness and invoked like it against the enemies of the righteous—give the righteous a “ dazzling ” strength of aggression ! But on the other hand, as the instrument of the Lord in the ordeal, may it “ clearly ” show the trespasses of the enemy !

Like a poor man without any authority of his own, like a “ *cliens* ”, Zarathustra trusts himself to the authority (Dominion) of the superior Triad. For this authority is powerful and venerable ; and in order to unite himself with it, the prophet with his adepts has broken with the robbers and the false gods (5).

Since the Triad has such power, may it give a concrete manifestation of it by the total transformation of the human world. Zarathustra will then praise and worship it with greater joy (6).

4

Thy fire, O Lord, mighty through Righteousness, swift and powerful—
We would that it may be a resplendent support
For him who exalts it ; but for the enemy, O Wise One,
According to the powers of thy hand, the clear showing of
his trespasses !

5

What Dominion is yours, what power for action !
Protect your poorling, O Wise One with Right and Good
Mind, for I cleave unto you !
To unite ourselves with you we have renounced all creatures
of prey :
False gods and men :

6

Because you are truly thus, O Wise One with Right and Good
Mind,
Give me this sign : the entire remaking of this existence,
That a greater joy may be mine in your worship and praise.

7

Where, O Wise One, shall your faithful be in possession of
Good Mind ?
Those who turn the doctrines and the inheritances into suffering
and torture,
They will be (?) in hell (?)
I know none other but you ; then save us, through Righteous-
ness.

43

The same three entities are again mentioned in the two following stanzas. Those who steal and inflict suffering will be in hell (?); but where shall the votaries of the Wise One possess his Good Mind? (—Certainly elsewhere :) they will be saved by Righteousness, for even now the wicked separate themselves from the righteous by committing those crimes and oppressing the weak, against the law of the Wise One. Having lived far away from Righteousness, they will be far away from the Good Mind. Deprived of the Good Mind, they pursue Devotion, which, in its turn, evades them, like animals fleeing from man (7-8-9).

The man of good will, on the other hand, acts according to Providence (Good Mind), knowing that Devotion (its daughter), according to the natural Order (Righteousness), has the power to give prosperity. He thus acquires the right to this prosperity and these delights which will be given to him by the authority (the Dominion) of the Wise One. And here these delights are expressly mentioned: Integrity and Immortality for his nourishment, and the possession (here called Dominion) of the Good Mind (cf. stanza 7). By giving endurance and strength (as in Yasna 30.7 and 33.12), Devotion, as in the preceding stanza united with Righteousness, provides the means of accomplishing the work of Righteousness (cf. Yasna 33.12) by fighting the enemies of the Lord.

★

★

★

For such actions do they flee from us,
 They in whom is oppression for many
 —Of a weaker one by him who is stronger—
 In hostility to thy law, O Wise One !
 They that have not known Righteousness, far from them is the
 Good Mind !

The evildoers who pursue Devotion held sacred by thine initiate,
 Because they have no part in the Good Mind, O Lord,
 From them she shrinks back, with Righteousness,
 As far as the wild beasts of prey shrink back from us !

The man of good will has declared the deeds of this Good
 Mind to be his,
 —He who knows that Holy Devotion, the companion of Right,
 is creative—
 And his all the comforts that are in thy Dominion, O Wise One.

Then shall thine Integrity and Immortality be for nourishment,
 With the Dominion of the Good Mind ;
 Devotion united with Righteousness shall increase endurance
 and power.
 Through them dost thou give strength to those who oppose
 thine enemies, O Lord.

*

*

*

In stanzas 12 to 15, addressed to the Triad, Zarathustra first submits himself to the commands of the Lord : what cult does he ordain ? What doctrine does he bring ? He asks him, the Lord, to announce the awards to be distributed by Destiny and to teach the way to that of the righteous : the Path of Providence (Good Mind) which is also that of the cosmic Order (Righteousness) and that on which the saviours will advance.

For by "the act of the Good Mind" the Lord will let the wise benefit from this teaching and this good doctrine, even in their corporal life : by this doctrine of the Entities those who are in a village where cattle-raising is practised (a "village of the mother cow") will be prosperous because this is a doctrine of the will which, through Righteousness, produces prosperity. May the Triad therefore reveal this doctrine to its prophet : the best actions and words, and the praises to be addressed to it ; may thus, by the establishment of its Dominion (as in stanza 1 : the hymn returns to its beginning), existence be truly renewed !

12

What is thy command? What wilt thou—what praise,
 what worship?
 Proclaim, O Wise One, that we may hear
 What awards Destiny will apportion.
 As Righteousness teach us the easy paths of the Good Mind,

13

That way of which thou hast spoken to me, O Lord,
 As the way of the Good Mind, well made by Righteousness itself,
 Where the consciences of the saviours go forward
 To the reward destined for the wise, of which thou art the
 dispenser, O Wise One !

14

This precious reward, then, O Wise One, you shall give by
 the action of Good Mind
 To the bodily life of those who are indeed in the village of the
mother-cow :
 Your good doctrine, O Lord, that of the mind's force
 Which makes the village prosper through Righteousness.

15

Make known to me, O Wise One, the best words and deeds
 And, as Good Mind and Righteousness, the prayer of praise.
 Through your Dominion, O Lord,
 Do thou make existence truly renewed according to thy will !

YASNA 33

In this Gāthā three stanzas dealing with the righteous and the wicked in general, the actions which define them, and the treatment which they are to receive "in the present existence", introduce eleven others concerning one of these righteous : Zarathustra himself.

THE wicked, the righteous, and those who are a little of each, will be treated according to their respective merits in the existing organization of society (1).

To do harm to the wicked, in thought, word, and deed, is meritorious, as it is to convert someone to the good : it conforms to the will of the Lord (2).

To do good to the righteous—in the family, the village, the tribe : in a widening circle—is equally so ; also to take care of the ox. Thus one is in harmony with the Triad and deserves prosperity (3).

★

★

★

1

Towards the wicked man and the righteous one
 And him in whom right and wrong meet
 Shall the judge act in upright manner,
 According to the laws of the present existence.

2

He who by word or thought or hands
 Works evil to the wicked one,
 Or he who converts his clansman to the good,
 They please the Lord and fulfil his will.

3

He who, belonging to family or village or tribe, O Lord,
 Is most good to the righteous man, or labours for the care of
 the herd,
 He shall be in the pasture of Righteousness and of Good Mind.

*

*

*

Zarathustra, then, is a righteous man : for he will protect from their various enemies, first the Lord, then the family, the village, the tribe ; then the pasturage of the ox (4) ; for he will gladly submit to the discipline of the Lord " as the mightiest of all " when he attains the major entities (5).

He wants to practise the pastoral life as it has been prescribed ; and in order to learn how to do it, he, the priest, desires to see and take counsel with the Wise Lord, the Best Spirit, and the Right (6).

He calls to him the Best Ones (the habitual Triad), wishing to see them in person ; he wants to be heard by the men of the sacrament . . . (7).

4

I who by my prayer will keep from thee, O Wise One, disobedience and Bad Mind,
 Discord from the family, from the village the evil that is very near,
 The oppressors from the tribe, and from the herd's pasture the worst steward,

5

I who will invoke thy Discipline as the mightiest of all,
 At the outcome, when I shall attain the long life,
 The Dominion of the Good Mind and the straight paths of Right
 Wherein dwells the Wise Lord,

6

I who, a priest, would learn through Righteousness,
 Would learn from the Best Mind the straight paths,
 Henceforth to practise husbandry in the sense in which it has been ordained,
 I strive therefore to see thee and take counsel with thee, O Wise Lord !

7

Come hither to me, O Best Ones, in your own person and visibly,
 O Wise One with Righteousness and the Good Mind,
 That I may make myself heard before the men of the sacrament,
 (?) That the shining dedications fulfilled with worship may be manifest among us ! (?)

In the following stanza he addresses himself to the same Triad: for the worship which he renders to it, for the acts to which it inspires him, he implores the favour of Integrity and Immortality (8).

Together with the comfort procured by this pair he asks for the Spirit of the Lord and the Best Mind as a consequence of the change which his activity will bring about. (The choice of these two entities, as well as those of the two following stanzas, appears to me inexplicable . . .) (9).

In short, he asks for all the good things of life, of which the Wise Lord is the cause (10).

8

Heed my concerns which I follow through the Good Mind,
 My worship of such as you, O Wise One,
 And the words of praise which I address to you, as Righteousness.
 For ever, O Integrity and Immortality, grant your blessing !

9

(?) May the change worked by me bring hither thy Spirit with
 the Best Mind (?),
 O Wise One, together with the blessing
 Which comes from the twain who cause increase through
 Right,
 Whose two souls are as one—may we have their timely support !

10

All the good things of life that have been, that are, or that
 shall be through thee,
 Grant them, O Wise One, according to thy pleasure,
 Through Good Mind, Dominion and Righteousness
 Raise my person at will.

He invokes the Lord and four entities, imploring their pity for the hour of the awards (11). He calls them to his aid ; of Devotion he asks endurance (cf. Yasna 30.7 and 34.11 above) ; of the Most Holy Spirit, the strength for the good reward (?) ; of the Right, aggressive power for the destruction of the wicked (cf. Yasna 28.6 and 34.11 above) ; of the Good Mind, bliss (?) (12). May the Lord " who sees far " by his Providence (Good Mind) send the felicity without equal of his Dominion to the prophet's aid. May Devotion—according to the part assigned to her by Yasna 43.10—instruct the consciences in their duties of Righteousness ! (13).

In return Zarathustra offers himself. To the Lord he will bring his life ; to the Right he will offer the direction of his actions and words and of his Good Mind (which is embodied in the human series, as in Yasna 33.10) ; and he will offer it Discipline and Dominion (also considered as human activities), which no doubt means his own obedience and the obedience of those who are under his authority.

11

Most mighty Wise Lord, Devotion, Righteousness that prospers
the living,
Good Mind, Dominion, hear me ;
Have mercy on me at the recompense to each man.

12

Make haste towards me, O Lord ;
As Devotion, give me endurance ;
As the Most Holy Spirit, O Wise One, the strength (?) for the
good reward ;
As Righteousness, the power of aggression ;
As Good Mind, grant felicity (?).

13

To support me, O Lord who seest far,
Appoint for me the unequalled blessings of your Dominion
Which are the gift of the Good Mind.
O Holy Devotion, instruct men's consciences in Righteousness !

14

Then will Zarathustra bring his own life to the Wise One as
an offering ;
To Righteousness, the first choice of his Good Mind, his deeds
and words,
Discipline and Dominion.

YASNA 29

In this very justly famous Gāthā of The Ox-Soul the members of the Triad intervene "in person", like the actors of a play. It is a dialogue in heaven. Zarathustra only speaks to introduce the cues and to conclude in two stanzas.

Dramatis Personae :

THE OX SOUL.

THE MAKER OF THE OX.

THE RIGHT.—THE WISE LORD.—THE GOOD MIND.

Argument :

The ox asks for someone who shall take care of him and protect him from the cruelty of the wicked. Zarathustra is assigned to him. But Zarathustra has no temporal power ; the ox will therefore remain defenceless : he calls and prays for the powerful leader who shall assist the prophet.

THE soul of the ox speaks first. It addresses its lament to the Immortal Lords. It is oppressed by the wicked, by those who, not content with not raising the cattle, sacrifice it ritually. The animal has no redress against these wicked rulers, except from its creators. It protests and calls them to account : for whom have they destined it ? As it has only them for shepherds they owe it pastures !

As one of the questions aims at him who is directly responsible for its existence ("Who made me?"), the Maker of the ox receives the lament and intervenes with the Right. He asks for someone who shall take care of the cattle and defend it.

1

To you did the soul of the ox complain :
 " For whom did you create me ? Who made me ?
 Fury and violence oppress me, and cruelty and tyranny.
 I have no shepherd other than you : then obtain good pastures
 for me."

2

Then the creator of the ox asked the Right : " Hast thou a
 judge for the ox,
 That you may give him, with the pasture, the care for the raising
 of the cattle ?
 Whom did you appoint his master who shall put to flight Fury
 together with the wicked ?"

3

As Righteousness, reply was made : " No companion is there
 for the ox
 That is free from hatred. Men do not understand
 How the great deal with the lowly.
 Of all beings he is the strongest
 To whose aid I come at his call.

4

The Wise One it is who best remembers
 The plans carried out of yore by false gods and men
 Or that will be carried out in the future.
 He, the Lord, will decide, it shall be according to his will."

But the Right has no-one, which probably means—the stanza is not clear—that the fate of the ox was not included in the natural order of things. The Right does not reign among men, although it gives strength to anyone who calls it to his aid (3).

It is the Lord who, being omniscient—for he knows the past and future intentions of false gods and men—will decide. He must be appealed to (4).

The Soul of the ox and that of his mate follow this advice and at once ask the Lord to protect the herdsman against the wicked who surround him (5).

The Lord hears their prayer and answers them: “(as the Right has said), the fate of the ox has not been settled by it. There is a Creator of the ox, but no Protector of the ox. The ox is delivered up to man.” (6)

Yet it has not been abandoned by the Lord. For he has decreed laws, in accordance with the Right, which are to establish a reciprocity of services between man and ox: man will make the grass grow by watering it with animal excrement; the cow, in return, will give him milk for his food.—But man must be inclined towards these maxims in order to apply them. Who is he—asks the Soul of the ox—whom the Good Mind will inspire with this good disposition, commanding him to spread it? (7)

5

—“ With hands outstretched we pray to the Lord,
 We two, my soul and the soul of the mother-cow,
 Urging the Wise One to command that no harm shall come to
 the honest man,
 To the herdsman, in the midst of the wicked who surround
 him.”

6

Then spoke the Wise Lord himself, he who understands the
 prayers in his soul :
 “ No master has been found, no judge according to Righteous-
 ness :
 For the breeder and the herdsman has the creator fashioned
 thee.

7

The ordinance of sprinkling the water of the cattle, for the
 welfare of the ox,
 And the milk for the welfare of men desiring food,
 This has the Wise Lord, the Holy One,
 Fashioned by his decree, in accord with Righteousness.”
 (The Ox-soul :)
 —“ Whom hast thou, as Good Mind, who may take care of us
 two for men ? ”

The Good Mind answers : Zarathustra. For he it is who has heard and will make heard the teachings of the Triad. He will therefore be given persuasive eloquence. (8)

But the ox has no confidence in the efficiency of the word. Zarathustra can do nothing as long as he lacks the support of a man of power. Will he ever be found ?

Zarathustra takes up the prayer of the Ox-soul and in his turn asks the Triad to grant this possible protector—whom he is the first to desire—sufficient power to procure prosperity and peace for the cattle (and those who breed it). Zarathustra knows that all this comes from the Lord in the first place.

And the hymn ends on an impatient sigh :

Where are Righteousness, Good Mind, and Dominion ?

To know this, Zarathustra desires to be admitted to the great sacrament which will unite him with these entities and bring him their help and their bounty.

(The Good Mind :)

“ I know but this one : Zarathustra Spitama, the only one who
has heard our teaching ;
He will make known our purpose, O Wise One, and that of
Righteousness.
Sweetness of speech shall be given to him.”

And then moaned the Ox-soul : “ That I should have to be
content
With the powerless word of a man without strength for a
guardian,
I who wish for a strong master !
Will he ever be, he who shall help him with his hands ? ”

Do you, O Lord, with the Right and the Good Mind,
Grant them that he should have Dominion enough
To obtain good dwellings for them and peace.
I, O Lord, have recognized thee as the first provider of these.

Where are Righteousness, Good Mind, Dominion ? (? O
immortal ones ?),
Admit me to the great sacrament, O Wise One, that I may
achieve knowledge ;
To our aid now, O Lord ! May we have part in the bounty
of such as you !

This Gāthā might be called The Questions to the Lord. For each of its twenty stanzas, except the last, is introduced by this formula: "This I ask thee, O Lord, answer me truly . . .". The use of such a formula must have been traditional. As E. Schwyzer has shown—Die Parenthese, Abhandl. Preuss. Akad., 1936, 6, 10, sq.—(followed by H. H. Schaefer, Ein Indogermanischer Liedtypus in den Gāthās, ZDMG, 1940, p. 404), discourses are indeed found in the Edda which are introduced in the same way, by a formula containing a parenthesis: "Tell me this, Alviss—it seems to me, O dwarf, that you know all about human condition—": " (Alvissmál) : " Tell me this, Egoisvithr—I will ask you and I wish to know—": "

Zarathustra, therefore, knew his vocation as a poet-preacher. And by the use of this cliché we can tell that he is about to treat a "classical" theme here; the same, as we shall see, will be the case for Yasna 30. This is in fact so, and even the theme in question is identical in both cases: like Yasna 30, Yasna 44 will deal with the origin of things.

As in this other example, here also the cosmogony is followed by an eschatology, by reason of the necessary link which unites the end of things with their beginning and the future existence with the present.

Stanzas 3 to 7 are concerned with the origin of the world and its organization, and stanzas 8 to 19 with its future. The four last of these in particular are devoted to the mission of Zarathustra and to the expectation of the saviour. Such is the body of the hymn, preceded by two introductory stanzas and ended by a final stanza.

IN the first stanza Zarathustra asks the Lord and the major entities to speak to him and to help him as a friend. In the second he formulates the essential question : will the promise of the rewards be fulfilled at the renewal of existence ("when the better existence begins")? And he proposes himself as an instrument of this renewal, this "healing of existence": for he is holy (effective) through Righteousness, he has a pact with it (or with the Wise One), and he devotes the force of his spirit to the common good.

In the following five stanzas, which deal with the origins, most of the questions are purely rhetorical :

*Who was the first father of Righteousness ?
Who appointed their path to sun and stars ?*

The answer is evident : "Who but thou . . ."

The stylistic effect, which is certainly deliberate, is obvious. Zarathustra obtains a similar one in Yasna 31 when he describes the Lord simply by the words :

He who . . .

The questions of stanza 3 are concerned with the cosmic order, the course of the celestial bodies—progress of sun and stars, phases of the moon—which is controlled by the Right (Arta). It is as the "father" of the Right that the Lord governs these natural phenomena.

Stanza 4 at first continues the enumeration of these things which constitute the material universe : the atmospheric sky (after the sidereal sky) with wind and clouds, the earth with waters and plants ; the earth set below with all it bears ; the sky held up above it ; winds and clouds provided with invisible steeds which carry them along in their movement.—In the last

I

This I ask thee, O Lord, answer me truly :
 May a wise one like thee reveal it to a friend such as I am,
 In virtue of my veneration,—such as is due to a being like you—
 And as Righteousness may he lend us his friendly support,
 Coming unto us through the Good Mind !

2

This I ask thee, O Lord, answer me truly :
 When the best existence begins,
 Shall they have their fill of the rewards who have desired
 them ?
 For this man, the holy one through Righteousness,
 Holds in his spirit the force which heals existence,
 Beneficent unto all, as a sworn friend, O Wise One.

* * *

3

This I ask thee, O Lord, answer me truly :
 Who was the first father of Righteousness at the birth ?
 Who appointed their path to sun and stars ?
 Who but thou is it through whom the moon waxes and
 wanes ?
 This I would know, O Wise One, and other things too !

4

This I ask thee, O Lord, answer me truly :
 Who set the Earth in its place below, and the sky of the clouds,
 that it shall not fall ?
 Who the waters and the plants ?
 Who yoked the two steeds to wind and clouds ?
 Who, O Wise One, is the creator of the Good Mind ?

verse, and in this verse only, transition is made from this material order, which is controlled by Righteousness, to the world of the spirit :

Who is the creator of the Good Mind ?

The following stanza returns to the sidereal order, the domain of Arta, but with reference to man : who has created all that which divides the time : light and darkness, which divide man's existence in sleep and waking ; morning, noon, and night, which show him the succession of his tasks (if he can read this natural " clock ") ?

What are these tasks, and what will be the fate of man in this universe ? Two new entities preside over it : Devotion and Dominion. Zarathustra asks whether what he wants to teach about them is right. On the one hand : will human activity (Devotion) correspond to the cosmic and divine order (Right) ; will the one assist the other : in other words, will man intervene (through Devotion) for the accomplishment of the work of the Right ? On the other hand : does the Dominion, the exercise of the good power (the Dominion of the Lord) derive from Providence, from the divine spiritual order (the Good Mind) ?—And is prosperity (the mother-cow, the source of good fortune) destined for the righteous ? (" for what men ? ") (6).

Stanza 7 also deals with these two new entities which are close to man : Devotion and Dominion. Their respective links with Right and Good Mind have just been mentioned ; now their mutual relations are being discussed : who created them in harmony with each other ? This harmony, this " sacred " union is translated into an example : who, asks Zarathustra, brought soul and mind into the relations (which depend on social authority and are therefore of the Dominion) of son and father (" reverential in his soul "), in dependence on Devotion

5

This I ask thee, O Lord, answer me truly :
 What artificer made light and darkness ?
 What artificer sleep and waking ?
 Who made morning, noon, and night,
 To remind the wise man of his task ?

6

This I ask thee, O Lord, answer me truly :
 Whether things are such as I would make them known ?
 Shall Devotion by her deeds support the Right ?
 Is it as Good Mind that thou hast founded thy Dominion ?
 For what men hast thou fashioned the mother-cow, the source
 of good fortune ?

7

This I ask thee, O Lord, answer me truly :
 Who created Devotion, sacred with the Dominion ?
 Who made the son reverential in his soul towards his
 father :
 Thus I strive to recognize in thee, O Wise One,
 As Holy Spirit, the creator of all things.

* * *

8

This I ask thee, O Lord, answer me truly :
 That I may make my wisdom from thy instruction, O Wise One,
 And from the words which I have received from the Good
 Mind,
 And that I may know what in existence accords with
 Righteousness :
 Having attained the Good, how will my soul be glad ?

(cf. the *pietas gnati* of Terentius and the deified *Pietas* which had a temple at the republican epoch.)

Through all these questions, in which Zarathustra implicitly stresses the close relationship of all the entities with the Lord, he strives to recognize in him, as the Holy Spirit, the creator of all things.

Having thus traced the plan of creation, Zarathustra turns to the future. He first asks for instruction, by the Triad, on the way in which his own soul shall know the rapture of the mystic union with the Good (8).

Will he obtain for himself and for the souls which he has converted, from the Lord, the master of the Dominion, who "dwells" with the other two major entities, the Dominions above which have been promised to him? (9)

Should one endeavour to practise religion on the strength of these promises—that is, endeavour to contribute towards the work of Righteousness by deeds of Devotion? (10).

(Yes, certainly. But) will it really be done? Will all those to whom the religion has been preached put it into practice? (stanza 11, first half).

From the beginning, Zarathustra, and he only, was charged by the Lord with this task of preaching. The prophet will consider those his enemies who pretend to this claim (11, second half).

He tells the Lord of the difficulties of this mission for which he asks his help. How shall he distinguish the righteous from the wicked among those whom he addresses? Here is a criterion (for what it is worth): whoever rejects the word of the prophet is wicked—otherwise the prophet himself would have to be! (12).

This I ask thee, O Lord, answer me truly :
 Shall the lord of the Dominion—such as thou art, O Wise One—
 Dwelling in one house with Righteousness and Good Mind,
 Fulfil me the promises of the Dominions above,
 For every clear-sighted man's conscience that I shall purify ?

This I ask thee, O Lord, answer me truly :
 (?) The religion, which is the best of all existing things—
 Should they, O Wise One, in desire of thy possessions announced
 by my doctrine,
 Observe it well by deeds and words of Devotion ?—
 May she, together with Righteousness, prosper all that is
 mine !

This I ask thee, O Lord, answer me truly :
 Shall Devotion extend to those to whom thy religion shall be
 proclaimed ?
 From the beginning was I chosen for this by thee :
 All others I shall look upon with hostile spirit.

This I ask thee, O Lord, answer me truly :
 Who among those to whom I speak is righteous and who is
 wicked ?
 Which of the two ? Am I evil myself,
 Or is he the evil one who would wickedly keep me far from
 thy salvation ?
 How should I not think him the wicked one ?

In the two following stanzas he asks himself whether (or : how) he can put himself and his out of reach of evil by throwing it back on those who despise the Triad ; whether (or : how), not content with guarding themselves against evil, they shall carry the war—discord and blind hatred—into the camp of the wicked by causing the forces of Righteousness to intervene against them ? (13 and 14).

If the Lord has the power to keep this hatred and this disaster away from the prophet, may he tell him how he means to use this might to determine the victory between the two armies which will face each other : that of the righteous and that of the wicked ! (15).

Who will be victorious in this battle from which the renewal, the “ healing of existence ”, is to arise ? Who is the victorious leader who is to protect the doctrine of the Lord and through it all the living ? Zarathustra asks for visible signs by which to recognize this saviour ; and may all those from whom the Lord expects obedience submit to him through the Good Mind ! (16).

This I ask thee, O Lord, answer me truly :
 (How ?) shall we rid ourselves of evil
 By throwing it back on those who, full of disobedience,
 Care naught for following Righteousness
 And do not trouble to take counsel with the Good Mind ?

This I ask thee, O Lord, answer me truly :
 (How ?) shall I deliver evil into the hands of Righteousness,
 That it may put it down according to the rules of thy doctrine,
 That it may cause a mighty schism among the wicked
 And bring them blindness and hostilities, O Wise One.

This I ask thee, O Lord, answer me truly :
 If thou hast power, as Righteousness, to avert this from me :
 When the two hostile armies meet, to which of the two
 Wilt thou give victory according to the decrees which thou
 wilt uphold ?

This I ask thee, O Lord, answer me truly :
 Who will be victorious and protect the living by thy doctrine ?
 May visible signs be given to me :
 Make known the judge that shall heal existence !
 And may it be given to obey him, through the Good Mind,
 To all those in whom thou seekest it, O Wise One !

In short, will Zarathustra succeed in his mission? He asks to be united with the superior entities, to be gifted with persuasive eloquence, and to see Integrity and Immortality, the patrons of prosperity, favouring the partisan of Righteousness (17).

That is what he expects from the Lord.—From his terrestrial lord he expects remuneration, too: in stanzas 18 and 19 he claims his wages, as the Vedic poets often do at the end of their hymns—wages which are due to him in all justice (18). Let him beware who does not pay a promised and merited salary! He will be punished for it in the end; perhaps even at once? (19).

If I am refused my payment, thinks Zarathustra (and this last stanza is no longer addressed to the Lord), it would make one wonder whether the Right is not on the side of the false gods! Can it be that they will retain the good Dominion? Have they, then, been good masters? Zarathustra asks those whom they have in their power, the adepts of their cult. And to what horrors does this cult not oblige them! To witness the sacrifice of the ox without even looking away (while in India looking at the victim at least was avoided); a sacrifice which was accomplished with cruelty (the ox, “delivered to Fury”, moans in his soul—as in the Gāthā of the *Lament of the ox*, Yasna 29), carried out by the sorcerer prince and his priests, the *usig* (the term is not otherwise known) and the sacrificer. And this instead of taking care of the ox and making him prosper according to the will of the Right! (Quite obviously it must be concluded that the Right is not with those people.)

This I ask thee, O Lord, answer me truly :
 Shall I attain my goal with you, O Wise One ?
 May I become one with you and may my word have power,
 That Integrity and Immortality according to thy order
 May join themselves with the follower of Righteousness.

This I ask thee, O Lord, answer me truly :
 Shall I receive for my wage, through Righteousness,
 Ten mares with a stallion and a camel,
 Which were promised to me, O Wise One,
 Together with thy gift of Integrity and Immortality ?

* * *

This I ask thee, O Lord, answer me truly :
 He that does not give his hire to the one who earned it,
 He that does not give it according to his word,
 What shall be his present punishment,
 —knowing that which shall come to him at the end ?

Have the false gods ever been good masters ?
 This I ask of those who see, in their cult,
 How the sacrificer and the usig deliver the ox to fury,
 And how the sorcerer prince makes him to moan in his soul,
 And who do not sprinkle the water of the cattle on the pastures
 To make it prosper through Righteousness.

YASNA 46

At the beginning of this Gāthā—which might be called the Gāthā of the Flight—Zarathustra is being repulsed by everybody. From stanza 12 he has followers, and a prince protects him.

This has sometimes led to arguments against the unity of the poem. But that seems a curious conception of poetical creation : because a literary text describes a situation as present, does it necessarily follow that the one is contemporary with the other ? Zoroaster has the manner of the poet : while he is already under Vištāspa's protection, he stages with vivid directness the time when (as the Gospel of St. John says) " his own received him not " and he was lonely and did not know where to turn. The service which Vištāspa did him by receiving him stands out all the more.

THE initial situation takes us back to several Gāthās which we have already seen, in that Zoroaster appeals to the power that will help him, save him from the wicked rulers, and remedy his powerless and destitute state.

He knows the reason for his lack of success : his poverty " in men and in cattle ". Therefore he turns to the Wise Lord as a friend to a friend. The Lord, who is the Right, will help him, through his Good Mind (2).

In his prayers he calls for the reform of existence which was the subject of Yasna 48 and which is to be accomplished one day through the action of the saviours. He, Zarathustra, was chosen by the Lord to announce this good news ; he will be helped by the Lord through his Good Mind, so that the world may realize and maintain Righteousness (3).

1

To what land shall I flee? Where bend my steps?
 I am thrust out from family and tribe;
 I have no favour from the village to which I would belong,
 Nor from the wicked rulers of the country:
 How then, O Lord, shall I obtain thy favour?

2

I know, O Wise One, why I am powerless:
 My cattle are few, and I have few men.
 To thee I address my lament: attend unto it, O Lord,
 And grant me the support which friend would give to
 friend.
 As Righteousness teach the possession of the Good Mind.

3

When, O Wise One, shall the wills of the future saviours come
 forth,
 The dawns of the days when, through powerful judgment,
 The world shall uphold Righteousness?
 To whom will help come through the Good Mind?
 To me, for I am chosen for the revelation by thee, O Lord.

*

*

*

The eight following stanzas—4 to 11—depict the hostility which those who promote Righteousness have to face from the wicked. They prevent them from making the cattle prosper : they must be deprived of power, or killed. To do this is to increase the Good Dominion and to act according to the good doctrine (4).

Stanzas 5 and 6, which are not very clear, consider one of the two cases singled out above : that in which a wicked one is, not killed, but taken prisoner by a righteous man. If the wicked one accepts shelter and is converted, neither he nor his protector will suffer (5). But he who does not submit must be treated as a wicked one. For it is the law of Righteousness ever since consciences existed to inflict evil on the wicked; as it is to do good to the good (6).

After these two stanzas where Zarathustra seems embarrassed (before us) by the incompatibility of legal precepts with the rules of poetry, he recognizes that he will not have a terrestrial protector if he is not first protected by the fire of the Lord. This is the ritual fire, which is in relation with the Mind and the Right. (In another Gāthā Zarathustra says that he will think of the Right while worshipping the fire. Here the acts of the fire and the mind *bring Righteousness to maturity.*) (7).

4

The wicked one, ill-famed and of repellent deeds,
Prevents the furtherers of Righteousness from fostering the
cattle

In the district and in the country.

Whoever robs him of Dominion or of life, O Wise One,
Shall walk foremost in the ways of the doctrine.

5

(?) Whoever, holding power or the nobility of the Vow,
Or living by the rules decreed for the covenants,
Should seize a stranger coming to him,
If he, a righteous man himself, can recognize an evil one,
And if he proclaims his action before his family,
Mayest thou, O Lord, keep him from bloodshed !

6

(?) But he who, being asked, does not side with him,
He shall return to the creatures of Evil,
Who in the sight of the evil one is the best.
It is righteous to love the righteous,
Since thou, Lord, didst create the first consciences.

7

Who, O Wise One, shall be sent as a protector to such as I am,
If the evil one seeks to do me harm ?
Who but thy fire and thy mind, O Lord,
Whose acts shall bring Righteousness to maturity ?
Do thou proclaim this mystery to my conscience !

One effect that may be expected immediately of the fire and the Right is the defeat of the enemies : may their hostile actions turn against themselves ! (8)

In stanza 9 a rhetorical question is asked, apparently by a listener : from what man has he learnt the cult of the Lord ? From Zarathustra, of course. And the prophet begs his god for an account of the lament of the ox, so as to be able to repeat it as he has been asked to (9).

In stanzas 10 and 11 which end this section of the hymn, Zarathustra contrasts the fate which awaits his protectors and his enemies respectively. With those who protect him and grant him power in reward for his righteousness (and for his good mind ?) and with those who have accepted the cult of the Lords he will cross the Bridge of the Separator : he will lead them to bliss after death (10).

Those princes and priests, on the other hand, who exercise a pernicious power over mankind, shall then be tormented by their own consciences : they will go to the house of Evil for ever (11).

★

★

★

Whoever seeks to injure my living possessions,
 May danger not come to me through his deeds !
 May all his actions turn against him with hostility, O Wise One,
 And take him from the good life, not the bad life !

(A listener :)

'Who is he, the zealous man who first
 Taught me to honour thee as the most powerful,
 As the righteous Lord, holy in his action ?'

(Zarathustra :)

What he said to thee, to thee as Righteousness,
 What he said to Righteousness, the creator of the cattle,
 They ask it of me through thy Good Mind.

Whoever, man or woman, O Wise Lord,
 Shall give me what thou knowest is the best of this existence,
 —To wit : reward for Righteousness and the Dominion (?) with
 (?) the Good Mind—
 And all those whom I shall induce to worship such as you,
 With all those will I cross the Bridge of the Separator !

The sacrificers and the sorcerer princes
 Have subdued mankind to the yoke of their Dominion,
 To destroy existence through evil deeds :
 They shall be tortured by their own soul and their own
 conscience,
 When they come to the Bridge of the Separator,
 For ever to be inmates of the house of Evil.

★

★

★

In stanzas 12 to 17 the scene is changed ; here Zarathustra enumerates his protectors. First he calls the blessings of the Lord on the descendants of Fryāna the Turanian, men who prosper the living through the zeal of Devotion (12).

Stanza 13 prepares the one which follows : it promises effective power and the friendship of the Wise Lord and the other major entities to the man who pleases the prophet.

Who is this man ?—Vištāspa, answers Zarathustra ; and he appeals to all the righteous, the future favourites of the Lord, to support this prince in the “ decisive test ”. What this test is does not appear clearly. One might think of a war against the wicked, but the following three stanzas suggest rather a test after death, like the Bridge of the Separator which has just been mentioned.

12

Since among the praiseworthy grandchildren and descendants
of Fryāna the Turanian
Men were born, through Righteousness, who prosper living
things by the zeal of Devotion,
The Wise Lord shall unite them to the Good Mind,
To support them at the time of the fulfilment.

13

Whoever among mortals pleases Spitama Zarathustra (? by his
readiness ?),
He is worthy to be heard.
To him shall the Wise Lord give existence,
And as Good Mind he shall further his living possessions.
(?) For his Righteousness (?) we shall consider him your faithful
friend,
(To you and to Righteousness ?).

14

(? the Wise Lord :)
'What righteous man, O Zarathustra,
Is thy sworn friend for the great sacrament ?
Who wishes to be heard ?'
It is the prince Vištāspa, at the time of the decisive test.
Those whom thou shalt unite with thee in one house, O Wise
Lord,
I will call them with words of Good Mind.

15

Of you, Spitamas, descendants of Haēcataspa,
(?) I will declare that you distinguish the pure from the impure (?).
By these deeds conforming to the first decrees of the Lord
You have secured yourselves of Righteousness . . .

Zoroaster will intervene in favour of Spitama, the descendant of Haēcataspa (so his own family seems to be reunited after the hostility towards him of which he complained in the first stanza); and of two members of the Hvogva family: Fraša-oštra and Jāmāspa. He will speak for them when the Lord "separates" them (at the Bridge of the Separator, no doubt). Thus they shall dwell with the Wise Lord among the united entities (15-17).

He wishes this for all his followers as well as for himself, while he promises oppression to his enemies. Whoever works at the renewal of the world on his, Zarathustra's, behalf, will obtain prosperity in the future life (18-19).

O Frašaoštra Hvogva, and these zealous ones
 Whom we both wish to be as they desire,
 Go thou where Devotion is united to Righteousness,
 Where the Dominion is in the possession of the Good Mind,
 Where the Wise Lord dwells amid abundance,

Where I will recall only your merits and not your faults,
 O Jāmāspa Hvogva, your prayers and your willing obedience :
 To the Wise Lord, who shall separate,
 Through Righteousness, his prudent helper,
 The pure from the impure.

Whoever is true to me, to him I promise, through the Good
 Mind,
 That which I myself do most desire ;
 But oppression to him who seeks to oppress us.
 O Wise One, I strive to satisfy your wish through Righteousness.
 Thus the decision of my will and of my mind.

He who for me, who for Zarathustra,
 According to Righteousness will bring to pass
 That which is most renewing by the will (of the Lord),
 To him as a reward, when he attains the future life,
 Shall come two pregnant cows with the ox and all that he desires
 through the Mind.
 This thou hast revealed to me, O Wise One, thou who knowest
 best !

YASNA 28

Each of the eleven stanzas of this hymn is a prayer, and each mentions the three members of the Triad by name, variously associating or opposing them.

THE prophet first addresses his prayer to the Wise One and the Right. He asks them for "the acts of the Holy Spirit" (which means no doubt to make him act according to the will of the Creator) so that he may accomplish his spiritual and temporal duty: to satisfy the Good Mind, and to satisfy the Ox Soul (the two duties are intimately connected, but distinct) (1).

In the next stanza it is the Good Mind that "dwells" with the Lord; both are entreated to grant, according to Righteousness, successes of two orders—corresponding to the two duties which have just been distinguished—: the corporeal order and that of the mind. This distinction was familiar to Zarathustra and has been equally clearly formulated in Yasna 33.14.

Stanza 3 at last unites the two entities with the Wise Lord. Zarathustra will praise all three as never before.—He prays for himself and for those who work for the increase of the good Dominion.

1

With hands outstretched in prayer towards this support,
 I will first ask of you all, O Wise One with Righteousness,
 The acts of the Holy Spirit,
 To satisfy the will of the Good Mind and the ox-soul.

2

To me who would worship you, O Wise Lord with the Good
 Mind,
 According to Righteousness do you give the successes of both
 worlds
 —The bodily and that of the mind—
 To support me through them and bring me to bliss.

3

To me who would sing your praise as never before,
 As Righteousness, O Good Mind and Wise Lord,
 And to them for whom Devotion increases Dominion that it
 shall not diminish,
 Come at my call to give me support.

In stanzas 4 and 5 the prophet declares his wish to teach the cult of the entities and to convert the "men of prey" to it. He has striven to unite his soul with the Good Mind; he knows what rewards the Lord appoints for one's deeds; he knows that the Wise Lord is Righteousness, that he is the Good Mind, and he desires the beatific vision in which the Lord shall appear to him on his throne with Discipline by his side. Such a display of royal majesty and formidable power (the function of Discipline apparently being to constrain the rebels) is of a kind to intimidate the men of prey.

Stanza 6 should be understood to be spoken by listeners: they ask the Lord, "incarnated" in the Good Mind and in Righteousness, for his support against the enemies for Zarathustra and themselves.

Zarathustra speaks again and takes up his prayer, which he formulates in favour of himself and his protectors, Vištāspa and Frašaoštra. The Good Mind here appears subordinate to Righteousness, and as a gift from Righteousness and the Lord.

4

I who have striven for the awakening of the soul united with
the Good Mind,
And who know the rewards of the Wise Lord for our deeds,
While I can and may, I will teach the seeking of Righteousness.

5

Knowing thee as Righteousness, thee together with the Good
Mind,
Shall I see thee, and see also
That the most mighty Wise Lord has a throne and a Discipline ?
Through this saying, with our tongue
We will convert the men of prey to the greatest things.

6

(The listeners :)

'Come as Good Mind ; As Righteousness grant us as a lasting
gift,
O Wise One, according to thy exalted words,
A powerful support to Zarathustra and to us,
Whereby, O Lord, we may defeat the enemies.'

7

(Zarathustra :)

As Righteousness, grant the successes of the Good Mind for
a destiny ;
As Devotion, grant strength to Vištāspa and to me.
Grant these, O Wise One, and to your prophet power to make
himself heard.

87

From Devotion he expects (as elsewhere) strength (8 and 9).

In return for the requested favours Zarathustra promises obedience and worship to the Triad, which is mistress of life, of power, and of prosperity (9).

The two last stanzas present the members of the Triad in new forms. In stanza 10 Righteousness and Good Mind are "qualities" of the pure, for which they may expect fulfilment of their desire from the Lord. For Zarathustra knows that a just prayer will succeed with him.

In the final stanza, the same entities are "watched over" by the Lord. That is why Zarathustra asks the Lord to dictate to him the account of the "beginning of existence" (the subject of Yasna 30, which follows next).

8

O thou, the Best One, who art in accord with Best Righteousness,
 Of thee, O Lord, I beg the best part for the hero Frašaoštra,
 For myself, for all those whom thou wilt for ever
 Suffer to share in the Good Mind.

9

In return for such favours, may we not anger you,
 O Wise Lord and Righteousness and Best Mind,
 And strive to offer praises unto you !
 You are they that best rouse the forces of life and the Dominion
 of prosperity.

10

The pure whom thou hast found worthy for their Righteousness
 and their Good Mind,
 Fulfil their desire, O Wise Lord, let them attain it !
 I know that words of prayer which serve a good end
 Are successful before you.

11

Thou who watchest over Righteousness and Good Mind,
 Do thou teach me, O Wise Lord, to proclaim according to thy
 spirit,
 Through thy mouth, how the beginning of existence came to
 pass.

YASNA 45

This Gāthā is introduced by a traditional formula which is analogous to the one we have met in Yasna 44. This formula is partly repeated at the beginning of the following stanzas.

We have seen in the preceding case—and we shall see it again for Yasna 30—that the use of such a formula seems to be motivated by the theme to be dealt with; the classical theme of the origin of things. The same is the case here. In fact, if we disregard the whole of the first stanza, which serves as a general exordium, the discourse of the prophet takes the beginning of existence for its point of departure; and this theme is developed in the whole sequence of stanzas which are introduced by the same formula, except in the 6th and last, which puts an end to this development and begins another: the praise of the Wise Lord, his being beyond compare. This superlative praise fills the rest of the hymn, in a dialogue between Zarathustra and the audience, except the final stanza, which ends with an allusion to the coming saviour.

As always, the cosmogony is explained in accordance with the eschatology which is its fount and origin. Thus the opening stanza already contains a reference to the “second existence”, the renewed existence.

Before paraphrasing the stanzas one by one, we must point out that the entities do not, as usual, present themselves together, but one after the other, as if really being “presented”. And it has in fact been noted that this Gāthā is addressed to the “great public”, or at least to an unaccustomed audience, as proved by the beginning: “. . . You who from nearby or from afar come for instruction.” We shall therefore expect to find here what resembles most nearly—in the whole of Zarathustra’s work which has been preserved—a “Summary of the Doctrine”.

In what order do the Entities follow each other? We will leave aside stanza 1, as none is expressly mentioned in it. (In the phrase below it will be seen that the Wise One is indicated in it, if only by allusion.)

The first entity to be mentioned is the Spirit, or rather the two twin spirits, whose rôle as "introducers" is known. Hence they figure here as actors in an essentially "initial" scene.

Stanza 3 mentions the Wise Lord, and him only.

Stanza 4 first mentions the other two members of the Triad: Righteousness (which is the nearer one to the Lord), then Good Mind. Then comes Devotion, expressly subordinate to the latter.

Stanza 5 presents the entities which, like Devotion which has been mentioned, concern the "third function": Integrity and Immortality. Their particular dependence with regard to the Good Mind is expressed. Stanza 6 returns to the Wise Lord and makes him stand out as the greatest of all—for that, as we have said, is the object of the development which begins here. He appears under his own name and as Holy Spirit and Righteousness; the Good Mind, a little more distinct from him, follows.

The Dominion does not appear till stanza 7, as if the "second function", of which it was originally the patron, had deliberately been relegated to the last, as it is in the calendar.

STANZA 1 calls for the attention of the audience and announces the subject of the sermon : the being in question is not named, but his name, the Wise One (*maz-dāh*), is transparent in the verb used (*man . . . dā*). Only in the second stanza, and from the 6th onward, is he clearly indicated as the essential subject of the preaching.—Before beginning his sermon, Zarathustra prays for the removal of the danger of its effects being destroyed by the propaganda of a false teacher whom his tongue ranks among the wicked : may he not imperil the work of renewal, and the “second existence” which is to result from it !

Stanza 2 places the opposition of the two Spirits at the beginning of existence (the “first existence”, of course) : the holier Spirit said to the destroyer : “We have nothing in common ; in no part of our being and our activity are we in accord” (2).

The following stanza announces instruction on the origins, but it is in fact devoted to quoting the source of the prophet’s knowledge of these things : the Wise Lord, he who knows ; and to intimating that the end will depend on this doctrine of the beginning and on the way it is applied. The doctrine itself is only given in stanza 4, and this time it is presented as relating formally, not to the origins, but to “what is best in the present existence” : that is to say, that this existence has been created by the Lord ; that he created it according to Righteousness ; that he is the father of the active Good Mind (that he intervenes actively through his providence), whose own daughter is beneficent Devotion. The Lord is omnipotent and omniscient.

I

I will speak : hear now and attend,
 You who from nearby or from afar come for instruction.
 Do you all make your wisdom of him, for he is manifest.
 May the false teacher not destroy the second existence,
 Who for his evil choice has been reckoned wicked, through
 the tongue.

★

★

★

2

I will speak of the two spirits
 Of whom the holier said unto the destroyer at the beginning
 of existence :
 “Neither our thoughts nor our doctrines nor our minds’ forces,
 Neither our choices nor our words nor our deeds,
 Neither our consciences nor our souls agree.”

3

I will speak of the beginning of this existence,
 Of the things which the Wise Lord has told me, he who knows.
 Those of you who do not carry out the word
 As I shall think and speak it,
 For them the end of existence shall be “Woe !”

4

I will speak of the things which are best in this existence.
 He who created it according to Righteousness,
 I know, O Wise One, he is the father of the active Good Mind,
 Whose daughter is beneficent Devotion.
 Not to be deceived is the all-divining Lord.

Stanza 5 announces, on the part of the Lord, the best word that can be known : “ Those who listen to Zarathustra and obey him, and me through him—says the Lord—shall obtain Integrity and Immortality through the deeds to which the Good Mind inspire them.”

From stanza 6, the discourse concentrates on the Wise Lord : he is the greatest of all ; he is one with Righteousness and well-disposed towards the living. It was to him, the Holy Spirit, that Zarathustra addressed his praises when he took counsel with the Good Mind (who is the side from which the Lord communicates with the spirit of man, “ comes near to him ”, as in Yasna 44.7, 9, 11, etc.). He asks him therefore to hear him and to enlighten him by his mind’s force in “ what is best ” (6) ; it is he who rewards men—whether dead, living, or yet to be born—in the after-life : not only has he created Immortality, he is also master of the torments, which are under his authority, under his Dominion (7).

Listeners who have been won over by these words of the prophet take up the discourse for three stanzas and ask him to obtain the benevolence of so great a Lord for them. They have “ seen ” what Zarathustra has described to them and have recognized the Lord by his righteousness and his kindness. They long to sing his praises in the house of Song (the abode of the righteous) (8).

5

I will speak of the word which the Most Holy Wise Lord
 Has told me as the best for mankind to hear :
 “Those who for me shall give heed and obedience to him,
 Shall attain Integrity and Immortality through the deeds of
 Good Mind.”

6

I will speak of the greatest of all,
 Praising him as Righteousness, who is benevolent towards the
 living.
 Let the Wise Lord hear, as the Holy Spirit,
 Whom I have praised when I took counsel with the Good Mind !
 By his mind's force may he teach me the supreme good,

7

He who gives salvation or perdition
 To those who are living or have been or shall be :
 The soul of the righteous rewarded with Immortality,
 Everlasting torments for the wicked.
 (Of these torments also is the Wise Lord the creator, through
 his Dominion.)

8

(Listeners :)
 “Seek to win him for us by praises of veneration
 —For I have now beheld this with mine eye,
 Knowing the Wise Lord by the Righteousness of his Good Spirit,
 Of his good deed and his good word—
 And may we offer him hymns of praise in the house of song !

May Zarathustra propitiate this absolute master of their fate for them, him and his Providence (Good Mind), so that the Lord may assume authority over their village and bring it prosperity: he can do this through the intimate accord of his Providence (Good Mind) with the natural Order (Righteousness) (9). He has promised them this prosperity (Integrity and Immortality) in his Dominion, and strength and endurance in his house. He has made this promise with the two other entities of the Triad. The Lord has revealed himself to the soul of these listeners, and they ask the prophet to sing his praises for them in hymns of Devotion (10).

In a last stanza (which seems imperfectly linked with the preceding), Zarathustra prophesies to the enemies of the false gods and of those who do not obey the future saviour, the full protection of the latter. If this saviour, the master of the renewed existence, is master in their house, his "holy conscience" will stand to them in stead of friend, brother, and father.

“ Seek to propitiate him for us with the Good Mind,
 Him who gives us fortune and misfortune at will.
 May the Wise Lord through his Dominion over the village,
 Through the intimacy of the Good Mind with Righteousness,
 Prosper our cattle and our men !

“ Seek to glorify him for us with hymns of Devotion,
 Him who is beheld in the soul as the Wise Lord,
 Because he has promised with his Righteousness and his Good
 Mind
 That Integrity and Immortality shall be ours in his Dominion,
 Strength and endurance in his house !”

*

*

*

(Zarathustra :)
 Whoever (? therefore ?) shall henceforth bear ill-will to the
 false gods
 And to those who bear ill-will to the saviour
 (That is, to those who shall not submit themselves to him),
 To him shall the holy conscience of the coming saviour, the
 master of his house,
 Stand in stead of sworn friend, of brother or father, O Wise
 Lord !

YASNA 47

This short Gāthā might be called Gāthā of the Holy Spirit, for the latter is mentioned in each stanza, and each time at the beginning of the first verse.

THE first half of the hymn describes the order of the world, such as the Lord has established, through the Spirit and the other entities, for the peace and the happiness of man.

The first stanza presents all the entities together, arranged according to their hierarchy, through which the benevolence of the Wise Lord descends towards man. At the summit is the Wise Lord with his Holy Spirit, then Righteousness, the norm of Excellent Mind, incorporated here, as in Yasna 33.14, in the human series—thought, action, speech—then Dominion and Devotion, through whom, finally, Salvation and Immortality will be conferred on Zoroaster and his adepts.

Stanza 2 brings a variation : the Wise One is called the father of Righteousness, as, in Yasna 31, he is called the father of the Good Mind. Three other entities represent three aspects of his intervention, disposed according to the series spirit, speech, action : in the first verse the Most Holy Spirit ; in the second ¹ the words of the Good Mind (to whom a *tongue* is attributed) : in the third ² the action of Devotion (who has *hands*).

There is another variation in the third stanza : this time the Wise One is called the father of the Spirit. This Spirit created the ox, and at the same time, so that the ox may obtain peace and prosperity for man, he created Devotion (that is to say,

¹ Of the text, but, for reasons of syntax, third in the translation.

² Fourth of the translation.

I

The Wise Lord, as the Holy Spirit, shall give us
For Best Mind and deed and word true to Righteousness,
Through Dominion and Devotion, Salvation and Immortality.

2

(?) The sovereign good of this Most Holy Spirit,
May he accomplish it, the Wise One, who is the father of Right,
According to the words spoken by the tongue of Good Mind,
According to the deed done by the hands of Devotion !

3

Thou art the holy father of this Spirit,
Which has, O Wise One, created for us the cattle, the source
of good fortune,
And, giving us peace, has created Devotion for the care of the
cattle,
If she takes counsel with the Good Mind.

★ ★ ★

according to the preceding stanza, manual labour) who is to accomplish cattle-raising in compliance with the Good Mind (that is to say, with the good words, the good precepts, cf. stanza 2).

This idyllic arrangement is unfortunately being spoilt through man's fault. He is the subject of stanza 4 : only the righteous are faithful to the Holy Spirit ; the wicked turn from it. War is the consequence. The duty of every righteous man, rich or poor, powerful or not, is to distinguish between the righteous and the wicked so as to treat the former well and the latter ill.

The stake in this fight is the subject of the two last stanzas : the sovereign good is promised to those who are faithful to the Holy Spirit. Is it possible, Zoroaster asks the Lord, that the wicked one, who has joined the Bad Mind, should have part in it if the Lord will not allow it ?

The following stanza contains the answer : it is the Wise Lord who will accomplish the distribution, by the fire. The prospect of this reward will incite men to choose.

4

From this Holy Spirit do the wicked turn away, O Wise One,
 But not so the Righteous !
 Whether a man be master of little or of much,
 Let him be good to the righteous, evil to the wicked.

5

As Holy Spirit, O Wise Lord,
 Thou hast promised to the righteous the sovereign good.
 Shall the wicked one share in it without thy will,
 Who by his deeds belongs to Evil Mind ?

6

O Wise Lord, as this Holy Spirit,
 Through the fire thou shalt accomplish, supported by Devotion
 and Right,
 The apportioning of the good between the two parties.
 This will surely bring to the choice the many who desire it.

YASNA 30

This Gāthā is one of the clearest and most frequently quoted. It might be called Gāthā of the Choice : it tells of the exemplary choice which took place at the beginning of the world.

The opening formula, at the beginning of the first stanza : Now will I speak to those who will hear . . . , and of the second : Hear with your ears . . . , seems to be a cliché of traditional poetry, more precisely of the cosmogonical kind ; for this use of it has been found by Schaefer in the Atharvaveda and in the Völuspā (Ein indogermanischer Liedtypus, in Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft, 1940, pp. 399 sq.).

But while the Indian and the Germanic follow this formula with a simple account of the creation of the world, Zarathustra—as Schaefer has remarked—here manifests his powerful originality by reducing the history of the origins to that of a choice. Better still, in Zoroaster's poem this tale of the original choice is balanced by an announcement of the final things, choice and rewards being closely interdependent. The whole human drama, reduced to its essential structure, is contained in a few stanzas.

THE whole argument of the hymn is already given in the second stanza, immediately after the opening formula : in the first, Zarathustra announces praises and prayers, the knowledge of which will bring "joy . . . in the light". In the second, he offers the inescapable choice to the vigilant attention of mankind, in view of the final test.

I

Now will I speak to those who will hear
Of the things which the initiate should remember :
The praises and prayer of the Good Mind to the Lord
And the joy which he shall see in the light who has remembered
them well.

2

Hear with your ears that which is the sovereign good ;
With a clear mind look upon the two sides
Between which each man must choose for himself,
Watchful beforehand that the great test may be accomplished
in our favour.

*

*

*

In the body of the hymn the account of the choice occupies stanzas 3 to 6 and half of the seventh, and the eschatology the rest of the poem, except the eleventh and final stanza.

Stanza 3 assumes the two twin Spirits at the origin, one good, the other evil, in thought, speech, and deed, between whom, or in imitation of whom, man's choice must be made : the good choice of the wise and the bad choice of the others. (Here appears the "human triad" thought-speech-action, characteristic of this religion, which does not limit its horizon to actions only, or to words only. Note also the coincidence between intelligence and good.)

Stanza 4 describes the encounter between the two Spirits, who, as it were, divide the world between them; one establishing life, the other its opposite, and who apportion to the righteous and to the wicked their respective destinies. The cleavage is seen to widen : on one side good, intelligence, life ; on the other, evil, foolishness, non-life. As to the two rewards, they do not at first appear to be of equally perfect symmetry : worst existence—Best Mind. But this is only appearance, for the *manah*, a term which we translate roughly as Mind, is almost synonymous with "principle of life".

Between these two domains the evil Spirit chooses the worse, the Most Holy Spirit joins itself to Righteousness (which is implicitly—for this goes without saying—on the side of the good). Then the choice of mankind took place : those who want to please the Wise Lord have imitated the Holy Spirit (5).

Next comes the turn of the *daivas* or false gods. Overtaken and possessed by error, by foolishness, they took the bad part, here described as the exact opposite of the Best Mind. At the same time they became the enemies of life and friends of the Fury which destroys the latter, violently set against man (6).

3

Now at the beginning the twin spirits have declared their nature,
 The better and the evil,
 In thought and word and deed. And between the two
 The wise ones choose well, not so the foolish.

4

And when these two spirits came together,
 In the beginning they established life and non-life,
 And that at the last the worst existence should be for the wicked,
 But for the righteous one the Best Mind.

5

Of these two spirits, the evil one chose to do the worst things ;
 But the Most Holy Spirit, clothed in the most steadfast heavens,
 Joined himself unto Righteousness ;
 And thus did all those who delight to please the Wise Lord
 by honest deeds.

6

Between the two, the false gods also did not choose rightly,
 For while they pondered they were beset by error,
 So that they chose the Worst Mind.
 Then did they hasten to join themselves unto Fury,
 That they might by it deprave the existence of man.

Against such enemies man had to have helpers : they were not only Righteousness and Good Mind, and Dominion, but also Devotion, whose part is specified. Devotion, who has already been seen to be invoked for strength, has given "lastingness of bodies and the breath of life" to allow man to endure and to survive until the final reward. At the time of this reward, which will take place by an ordeal by metal, man will be set apart from the false gods and their band of "non-living" : he will be the first to be rewarded (7).

We come thus to the consideration of the final things. While the sinners will be punished, those who have fought against the wicked and delivered them "into the hands of Righteousness" will be rewarded : they shall have the Good Mind and the Dominion of the Lord.

Thus will this existence be renewed. May we, prays Zarathustra, by choosing with intelligence, with the help of the Entities, be the *agents* of this renewal. Clearly it is not a question of individual recompense, *undergone* after death. The event will be collective and will take place on earth, in this very life, which it will prolong by renewing it, by transforming it, for the righteous only.¹ The coming of the Kingdom of God, the establishment of a golden age, will correspond to the original choice, by which the "first existence" had begun. Evil will be conquered, while those who have acted well will be happy in the abode of the Triad (10).

The final stanza clearly repeats, in conclusion, the terms of the choice, which it is enough for mankind to understand well.

¹ The hopes of the first Christians spring to mind : "Verily I say unto you, that this generation shall not pass . . ."

7

And to him came Devotion, together with Dominion, Good
 Mind and Righteousness :
 She gave endurance of body and the breath of life,
 That he may be thine apart from them,
 As the first by the retributions through the metal.

8

And when their punishment shall come to these sinners,
 Then, O Wise One, shall thy Dominion, with the Good Mind,
 Be granted to those who have delivered Evil into the hands of
 Righteousness, O Lord !

9

And may we be those that renew this existence !
 O Wise One, and you other Lords, and Righteousness, bring
 your alliance,
 That thoughts may gather where wisdom is faint.

10

Then shall Evil cease to flourish,
 While those who have acquired good fame
 Shall reap the promised reward
 In the blessed dwelling of the Good Mind, of the Wise One,
 and of Righteousness.

11

If you, O men, understand the commandments which the Wise
 One has given,
 Well-being and suffering—long torment for the wicked and
 salvation for the righteous—
 All shall hereafter be for the best.

YASNA 31

This Gāthā is closely connected with the preceding one, as Nyberg has noted in Religionen, p. 206. We may describe it as a Second Gāthā of the Choice. It adds supplementary words which are meant for the faithful—the wicked shall not hear them (stanza 1)—and which were judged necessary because the choice to be made did not yet appear clearly enough.

ZARATHUSTRA offers himself as a judge, according to the will of the Lord, to enlighten men in their decision. For this he asks the Lord for an explicit and direct revelation (“with the tongue of thy mouth”) concerning the rewards and the decrees of Righteousness (3).

May they all choose rightly with the help of the prophet; and may they overcome Evil! This aim will be achieved by a cascade of “causes”: at the summit the Lords (with Destiny added to them), then, separately, the Good Mind, which, in its turn, gives to the prophet and his partisans the Dominion, “by the increase of which they shall vanquish Evil” (4).

And to end this long exordium, which is proportionate to a hymn of unusual dimensions, Zoroaster (in a stanza which is not very clear) asks the Triad for the gift of vision (5).

I

Remembering your commands, we proclaim words,
 Unheard by those who by the precepts of Evil
 Deprave the creatures of Righteousness,
 But beneficial to those who are faithful to the Wise One.

2

Because the better way to choose of the two is not therefore
 in sight,
 To you all I come as the judge of the two sides,
 —Such as the Wise Lord knoweth me—
 That we may live according to Righteousness.

3

The reward which thou shalt give by the spirit and the fire
 And which thou shalt divide, as Righteousness, among the two
 parties,
 The decree which is for the wise,
 Do thou tell us, that we may know, with the tongue of thy
 mouth, O Wise One,
 That I may put all living men to the choice.

4

If Righteousness is to be invoked, and the Wise One and the
 other Lords,
 And Destiny and Devotion,
 I would seek from the Best Mind the mighty Dominion
 By whose increase we might overcome Evil.

5

(?) Make known to me what you have, as Righteousness,
 appointed to me as the best,

He begins at once to prophesy. He promises "the best part" to the initiate, in a stanza which names the six Entities but lays particular stress on the "team" Dominion-Good Mind, the latter increasing the former, on the level of human action, as in stanza 4. The point of the pronouncement is that it is in the power of man to increase the Dominion of the Wise One. The Lord depends, as it were, on man, he expects something from him; which does not exclude man's need of the help of this "Providence" which is the Good Mind.

The seven following stanzas (7 to 13) detail the progress of the world from the first moment of genesis. Stanza 7 has a simple beauty which puts it on a level with the Bible and with Bossuet. God creates the light, and he creates it by the spirit. And he is not mentioned until the end of the stanza, the first verses of which indicate him only by his august act :

He who first by the mind, etc.

This great first verse opens the scene where the procession of entities is to pass. But from the very beginning it asserts the *spiritual* character of the action of God : by the mind does he make space, light, and beatitude coincide ; by the mind also, by the "mind's force", does he create Righteousness and the other entities : he is Spirit. We see the deduction of the degrees of a hierarchy which might be represented as follows : at the summit, the Wise Lord, identical with his Spirit. By this Spirit he creates Righteousness. By Righteousness he upholds the best Mind ; but he increases the latter directly by his Spirit (*manyu-manah*).

In the following stanza (8) the fundamental identity which connects the Lord with man becomes apparent : as the Lord acts through the mind, so it is through the mind that his prophet has recognized him. The whole stanza evokes a direct revela-

That I may join myself unto it : from whence comes my
inspiration

Which makes me learn from the Good Mind, for my remember-
What shall not be, O Wise Lord, or what shall be. [ing,

★ ★ ★

6

His shall be the best part who as an initiate proclaims
My true precept of Integrity, of Righteousness and Immortality :
“ For the Wise One is all that Dominion
Which may be increased for him by the Good Mind.”

7

He who first through the mind filled the blessed spaces with
He it is who by his will created Righteousness, [light,
Whereby he upholds the Best Mind.
This thou hast increased, O Wise One, by thy Spirit
Which is even now one with thee, O Lord !

8

Through the mind, O Wise One, have I known thee as the first
and the last,
As the father of the Good Mind,
When I perceived thee with mine eyes as the true creator of
Righteousness,
As the Lord in the deeds of existence ;

9

Thine was Devotion, thine the creator of the ox,
Thine the force of the spirit, O Wise Lord,
When thou didst give a free path to the ox
Towards the herdsman or one who is not a herdsman ;

III

tion, a living contact, through the "eyes" and through the mind. The subject of this revelation is, as it were, the "mystery of the Trinity"; the Wise One, the creator of Righteousness, is the father of the Good Mind (this completes what was said in the first stanza on the subject of the latter entity: it is now known, not only how the Lord *upholds* and increases it, but that he has himself *created* it). On the other hand, the Wise Lord, who is named (by the two halves of his name) at the beginning and at the end of the stanza, is recognized as the "Alpha and Omega", and as the lord of this life.

The following stanzas develop this idea: the Lord presides over the life of the world.

First of all he directs the life of the ox. For it is he who has created the Maker of the ox; he has created Devotion, that is to say the conditions for raising the cattle: maintenance of the grass-land and care of the live stock. Stanza 10 tells of the "choice of the ox": the ox has chosen well between the herdsman and the non-herdsman, bringing to the former the Good Mind. Note how the doctrine of man's free choice is here curiously transposed, inverting the real relations of man and beast. At any rate this is only a prelude, perhaps a simple symbolical prefiguration, to the direct account of man's choice or rather of human freedom, which takes up the following two stanzas.

Man has had freedom of choice since the Lord, through the mind, created body and soul (11). And since then he has made use of this freedom for error and truth, for good and evil. (The last verse of stanza 12 is not clear to me; it seems to mean that the undecided will be urged to the choice by Devotion.)

Man is free, but in none of his acts, even if hidden, does he escape the eye of Righteousness through which the Wise One observes him (13).

★

★

★

10

Then of the two did it choose for itself the cattle-tending
 herdsman,
 As a just master, as an advancer of the Good Mind.
 He who is no herdsman, despite his striving,
 O Wise One, he shall have no share in the Good Message.

11

Since thou, O Wise One, at the first didst create for us by thy
 Beings and consciences and wills, [mind
 Since thou didst give a body to the soul of life,
 Since thou didst create deeds and words, that man may decide
 freely,

12

Since then does the man of false words lift up his voice as well
 as the man of true words,
 The initiate as well as the non-initiate, each according to his
 heart and his mind.
 May Devotion put to the proof, one after the other, the spirits
 where there is bewilderment !

13

The deeds, open or stealthy, into which search is made, O Wise
 One,
 —Or if (?) for a trifling wrong a man should exact the greatest
 atonement (?)—
 Perceiving all this with thine eye, thou seest it through shining
 Righteousness.

*

*

*

From stanza 14 to the end the attention of the prophet is directed to the future, in a development which balances stanzas 7 to 13.

Zoroaster again asks the Lord for enlightenment. How shall the account of past actions be kept at the final reckoning? (14).

What punishment is in store for him who helps the wicked or who harms the righteous herdsman? (15).

When will the good leader come who shall extend the Dominion of the Lord? (16).

As this event is slow in coming, Zoroaster has a doubt which he confides to the Wise One: which will finally win, the righteous one or the wicked one? (17).

But he recovers himself: the wicked one brings nothing but ruin wherever his rule spreads. He must be fought with weapons (18).

14

These things I ask, O Lord, how they shall happen and come
to pass :

The pledges which are accounted to the righteous
And those accounted to the wicked man,
How shall they be, O Wise One, at the final reckoning ?

15

I ask thee, O Lord, what punishment is in store for him
Who obtains Dominion for the wicked evil-doer,
What punishment for him who finds not his livelihood without
outrage to the herdsman
That does no harm to beast or man.

16

I ask thee when the man of insight shall come and what deeds
he shall do,
Who, as belonging to thee, shall strive to further through
Righteousness
Thy Dominion over house and district and country, O Wise
Lord.

17

Is it the righteous or is it the wicked one that takes to himself
the greater part ?
Let him that knows speak knowledge ; let the unlearned cease
to deceive !
O Wise Lord, be thou our teacher in Good Mind !

18

Let none of you heed the words or the precepts of the wicked
one,

Right is on the side of Zarathustra who is the master of his tongue and speaks the truth : he hopes that the Lord will ratify his judgment at the ordeal by fire. Mankind can therefore rely on him : his followers shall be rewarded (19).

The following stanza describes this reward : possession of glory. In contrast to this it describes the dark fate to which the wicked are doomed through their own acts and by their own choice. This punishment is described in verse 2 : " Long-lasting darkness, ill food, and wailing."

By contrast again stanzas 21 and 22 return to the reward of the righteous. The Lord, rich in his union with the Entities, will give the Good Mind to those who are faithful to him.

The following is a little less clearly seen by us than by the seer ! Perhaps it means that man, having understood through the Good Mind that divine order and human action must be in accord, will put his power at the service of Righteousness. Thus he will be the guest of the Lord : the Good Mind will lead him to bliss.

For he brings house and clan and district and country to misery
and downfall.

Ward him off therefore with weapons !

19

Hear, O Lord, him who watches over Righteousness,
An initiate, a healer of existence,
Who rules his tongue at will to speak true words,
When by thy glowing fire the two parties are about to receive
their due.

20

Whoever stands by the righteous man, to him shall future glory
appear.

Long-lasting darkness, ill food, and wailing—
To such an existence shall your conscience
Lead you by your own deeds, O wicked ones.

21

Out of the fulness of his own union with Integrity and
Immortality,

With Righteousness and Dominion,
Shall the Wise Lord make him master of Good Mind
Who is his sworn friend in spirit and in deeds.

22

These things are clear to the man of insight :
He who through the Good Mind knows Righteousness as the
Dominion,

He helps him in word and in deed.
He shall be, O Wise Lord, thy most devoted guest.

YASNA 32

This Gāthā might be called The Choice of the Wise Lord. It is connected with the two preceding ones which are dominated by the idea of choice.

LIKE Zarathustra, all men, and even the false gods, have asked to be in the service of the Wise Lord, to be his messengers and his champions (1).

The Wise Lord, united with the major Entities, has declared his choice: the Devotion of the righteous. It shall be his through his Dominion (2).

At the same time he has rejected the false gods with their followers: they belong to the Bad Mind (the opposite of the Good Mind), to Evil (opposite of the Right) and Pride (opposite of Devotion) (3).

He reproaches the false gods with having seduced man to evil and estranged him from the Triad (4), thus defrauding him of bliss and Immortality; in which they have obeyed the evil Spirit (5).

1

Family and village and tribe, and the false gods even,
 Like myself, have asked bliss of the Wise Lord :
 " Let us be your messengers and ward off those who are hostile
 to you ! "

2

The Wise Lord, united to Good Mind and companion of
 resplendent Right,
 Made reply to them through his Dominion :
 " Your holy and good Devotion do we choose for ourselves ;
 It shall be ours !

3

" But you, false gods, and whoso holds you in great veneration,
 All of you are the breed of Bad Mind, Evil, and Pride.
 So too are the deeds of two kinds (?)
 Which make you known in the Seventh Part of the Earth.¹

4

" By enjoining the worst things,
 So that men who do them may increase in favour with you false
 gods
 And decrease in the favour of the Good Mind
 And break away from the will of the Wise Lord and the Right,

5

" You have defrauded man of happiness and Immortality,
 Urged to this deed, you false gods,
 By the Bad Spirit with the Bad Mind,
 Through the Bad Word promising Dominion to the wicked."

¹ I.e. " in all the inhabited Earth ".

Zarathustra speaks in his turn : shall, he asks himself, the promises of the false gods be fulfilled ? Shall the sinner attain his aim : to get hold of power and Dominion ? The decision is the Lord's, who is wise, just and powerful (6). And as he knows their deeds and will punish them accordingly, the initiate should keep away from them if he desires the final reward (which, as is well known, will be determined by an ordeal of molten metal) (7).

★ ★ ★

In the rest of the hymn, except the sixteenth and last stanza, Zarathustra reviles a particularly odious and pernicious species of sinners : apparently his most redoubtable opponents, the sacrificers of the ox.

Yama, the son of Vivahvant, is at the origin of this rite. Zarathustra renounces him and his followers (8).

The bad rulers destroy the doctrines of life and reject the Good Mind (the two are coupled). Zarathustra complains of this to the Lord and the Right : so the three major entities are named (9).

6

Shall the great sinner attain the boasted goal?
 Thou knowest it as Excellent Mind,
 O Lord who art mindful of merit!
 The decision shall be made in thy Dominion, O Wise One,
 Which is also that of Righteousness.

7

For these sinners, of whom thou well knowest, O Wise Lord,
 What they leave behind them,
 Let no initiate declare himself,
 If he desires the reward which, we know,
 Is assigned at the decision by the molten metal.

* * *

8

Among these sinners, we know, is Yama, son of Vivahvant,
 Who to please our people made them eat of the flesh of the ox.
 In thy decision, O Wise One, I shall be apart from these.

9

The evil ruler by his commands destroys the doctrines of the
 will of life:
 He prevents the acquiring of the Good Mind, its sacred possession.
 In these words of my spirit, I cry unto you, O Lord and the
 Right.

The same goes for those who hate the ox and the sun (that is to say, no doubt, the worshippers of Mithra who conquers the sun and kills the bull, cf. Lommel, *Wörter und Sachen*, 1938, p. 245), and for those nomad bandits who devastate the pastures and attack the herdsmen. All these are enemies of life, of the doctrine of life which constitutes, as we should say, the ideology of pastoral economy (10).

Enemies of life, too, are the robbers who attack men and women of property and take away their hereditary goods ; or who try to seduce them to their own mode of living (11).

The curse of the Lord is promised to those who sacrifice the ox ritually with cries of ecstasy which disturb (?) the righteous, and who have led the sacrificer Grahma astray (?) (12). This Grahma and his followers will be punished in the house of Worst Mind : they will lament Zarathustra's doctrine, according to which they shall have no access to Righteousness (13).

10

He it is that destroys the doctrines, who speaks of the ox and
 the sun
 As the worst things to behold with the eyes,
 Who makes the pure into wicked men,
 Who lays waste the pastures and takes up arms against the
 righteous.

11

They, the wicked ones, do indeed destroy life,
 Who strive with the great to deprive master and mistress of
 their inheritance
 And would part the righteous from the Best Mind, O Wise
 One !

12

The Wise Lord has foretold evil to those
 Who take the life of the ox with cries of ecstasy,
 (?) By this clamour leading men from the best deed (?),
 And who have caused the sacrificer Grahma to prefer
 Evil and the Dominion of the possessors (?) to Righteousness.

13

Through this Dominion shall Grahma attain his place in the
 house of Worst Mind,
 And with him the destroyers of this existence, O Wise One,
 Lamenting with all their heart the message of thy prophet,
 Who shall keep them from beholding Righteousness.

Grahma and the sorcerer princes strive to oppress Zarathustra, in solidarity with the wicked and in application of their maxim, according to which life, in order to be maintained and perpetuated, must first be sacrificed. (This is why the ox is killed, so that his seed, which is represented by the hauma, may fecundate the living.) (14). The men who suffer through them, that is to say those who want to practise husbandry and whom they prevent from doing so, will destroy them and will be treated quite differently in the afterlife.

The final stanza, after the imprecations of the preceding ones, seeks to safeguard Zarathustra and those whom he loves against the threats of these people by the protection of the Wise Lord.

14

Long have Grahma and the sorcerer princes
 Bent all their will and effort to crush this prophet,
 For they aim to help the wicked, and it has been said :
 " Let the ox be killed to kindle the Averter of Death in our aid."

15

For these deeds shall ruin overtake
 The race of the sacrificers and the magician priests
 Through those whom they prevent from living as they would ;
 These shall be borne far away from them to the dwelling of
 the Good Mind.

16

Thou, O Wise Lord, who hast power over him that threatens
 me with destruction,
 Let me avert the evil-doing of the wicked
 From those whom I love !

YASNA 49

After Grahma, the prophet now tackles his other enemy, Bandva, at least in the first two stanzas of this Gāthā. This Bandva is apparently a ruler who has an evil prophet (Grahma himself, perhaps ?) in his pay. Both of them hinder Zoroaster's activity.

AGAINST this ruler Zarathustra takes the part of the disinherited ; he invokes Good Mind and Righteousness against him (1).

Bandva's false prophet has these two entities against him, as well as Devotion (2).

Righteousness leads to salvation and Evil to doom : we have the choice. Therefore one must unite oneself to the Good Mind and avoid the wicked (3).—The separation is a radical one, and the two following stanzas depict the wicked and then the righteous in contrast.

The wicked are those who, instead of looking after the ox, deliver it to violence and cruelty (cf. Yasna 29), accompanying this action with their cries (cf. Yasna 32.12) ; for the wicked one there is one way of redeeming himself : by more good deeds than he has committed evil ones ; otherwise his conscience belongs, through his own fault, to the false gods (4).

1

Ever is Bandva the main hindrance to me,
 To me who would, through Righteousness, satisfy the dis-
 inherited, O Wise One !
 Come to me as good reward, be my support !
 As Good Mind bring to pass his downfall !

2

Long has the wicked prophet of this Bandva delayed me,
 He who has broken away from Righteousness.
 He has not taken care that Holy Devotion be his,
 Nor has he taken counsel with the Good Mind, O Wise One !

3

Righteousness, O Wise One, was set up for our choice, to be
 our blessing,
 Evil for the godless, for his undoing !
 Therefore I seek union with the Good Mind,
 And I forbid all traffic with the wicked.

4

Those who, maliciously, increase fury and cruelty with their
 tongues,
 Not husbandmen they among husbandmen,
 Those whose ill deeds are not outweighed by their good deeds,
 (?) They have delivered their evildoers' consciences to the false
 gods (?).

Those, on the other hand, who practise the principles of cattle-raising and who are in touch with the Entities, shall have their place in the Dominion of the Lord (at the renewal ?) (5).

This being the stake of the choice, Zarathustra must be well instructed about it so as to enlighten men's consciences in his turn (6). He therefore invokes the Triad and asks what man will lead the tribe in the straight path (7).

The two following stanzas imply that Zarathustra has two men in mind for this rôle : the two brothers Hvogva.

On behalf of Frašaoštra and himself, he asks for the beatific company of Righteousness, in the Dominion of the Lord (8).¹

¹ This may be another allusion (as above) to the renewal.

5

(?) But whoso—zeal, and sprinkling the water of the cattle—
 Unites his conscience with the Good Mind, O Wise One,
 Whoso is, through Righteousness, a knight of Devotion,
 For all those there shall be a place in thy Dominion, O Lord !

6

I entreat you, O Wise One, together with Righteousness,
 To make known the purpose of your will,
 That we may decide rightly
 And teach it to all consciences devoted to such as you, O Lord !

7

Let this being hear, as Good Mind,
 And hear as Righteousness !
 Do thou listen, O Wise Lord !
 What guest, what kinsman is it, according to the laws,
 That shall give good fame to the village ?

8

To Frašaoštra give, I beg thee, O Wise Lord,
 Sweetest intercourse with Righteousness,
 And to me also, in thy Good Dominion !
 Let us be your beloved for ever !

Stanza 9 is addressed to Jāmāspa, who has been created to help the realization of Righteousness : may he hear the commandment of absolute segregation, for the hour of the outcome !

The two following stanzas deal, not with renewal on this earth any longer, but with reward after death. The contradiction is perhaps apparent only : even if Zarathustra expects the early coming of paradise on earth, of the Dominion of the Lord, nevertheless people die every day, and there are those who are dead. For those there is the abode of the Wise One, where the souls of the righteous will adore him with devotion, jointly with the Good Mind (10) ; or the house of Evil for the souls of the wicked who will be received there by their equals (11).

In the 12th and last stanza Zarathustra asks for the help and the supreme favour of the Triad in return for his praises.

9

The helper that was created to bring prosperity,

Let him hear these precepts :

“ He whose words are righteous shall not care for dealings with
the wicked,

When the sharers of Righteousness shall make their conscience
share in the best reward

At the outcome ”, O Jāmāspa !

10

And this dost thou keep in thy dwelling, O Wise One :

The Good Mind and the souls of the righteous,

Their veneration, which is Devotion and zeal . . .

11

But the wicked who have evil power,

Evil deeds, words, conscience, and thought,

The souls shall go to meet them with evil nourishment.

Truly they shall be inmates of the house of evil.

12

What help hast thou, as Righteousness, for Zarathustra who
calls thee ?

What help has thou as Good Mind,

For me who seek thy favour with my praises, O Wise Lord,

Desiring the best thing in your possession ?

YASNA 43

After four exordial stanzas, the twelve other stanzas fall into six groups of two which are introduced by the same formula: "As the holy one I knew thee, O Wise One . . ." This poem might therefore justifiably be entitled Gāthā of the discourses with the Lord.

* * *

THE exordium is an exchange of prayers and vows between Zarathustra and his faithful. The prophet asks the Almighty Lord to grant the desires of them all, and especially his own: to gain strength and endurance—the gift of Devotion, cf. Yasna 30.7—in order to uphold Righteousness (cf. Yasna 44.6); to gain prosperity and life, the gift of the Good Mind (1).

Then, he asks for the sovereign good for all men, happiness according to the desire of each, long life, and joy: all things which are the wonderful gift of the Lord, the most far-seeing Spirit who is identical with Righteousness, through his Providence (Good Mind) (2).

The listeners in their turn wish him more good things than he has yet gained, as a reward for having shown them the way to material and spiritual salvation, the path of truth which leads them to the Lord and to the entities which are descended from him (3).

Linking up with these last words, Zarathustra declares that he will recognize the holiness, the mystical power, of the Lord when he shall give him spiritual strength through his Providence (Good Mind). The Lord will make this gift with the very hand which holds the destinies of the righteous and the wicked for the hour of the judgment by the fire.

1

May the Wise Lord who reigns at his will
 Grant to each of us that which he desires.
 I desire to have strength and endurance
 To uphold Righteousness—this do thou give me, O Devotion—,
 The rich rewards, the life of the Good Mind.

2

And may the sovereign Good be ours !
 According as one desires bliss may one receive bliss
 Through thy most far-seeing Spirit, O Lord,
 The wonders of the Good Mind which thou wilt give as
 Righteousness,
 With the joy of long life all the days !

3

(The Listeners :)
 “ May he attain the best of the good,
 He who teaches us the straight paths of salvation
 —In this bodily existence and that of the Mind—
 The true paths to those beings with whom the Lord dwells,
 The Lord which thou art, O Wise One, zealous, holy, of fair
 race.”

4

(Zarathustra :)
 I shall recognize thee as holy and powerful, O Wise One, when
 —From thy hand holding the fates which thou wilt give,
 To the wicked and to the righteous—
 By the glow of thy fire which is strengthened by the Right,
 The strength of the Good Mind shall come to me.

* * *

Then, with a change to the past tense of the initial formula of this fourth stanza, which has thus served as a transition, the prophet introduces the first of the six discourses, visions, or revelations, which, as we have said, form the body of the hymn. And, as twice before (Yasna 30 and 44), the stereotyped formula at first takes us back to the origins: "at the birth of existence". But here the thought goes at once from the beginning to the end, from the origin to the "last turning-point of creation": already at the birth of existence the Lord has, in fact, settled the reward for the good and the wicked. At the turning-point the Lord, the Powerful Spirit will establish his Dominion: the Good Mind, which helps the living to prosper according to Righteousness, will cause Devotion to proclaim to them the decrees of the will of the Lord whom none shall deceive (5-6).

After this vision which Zarathustra has had of the divine plan follows the account of his first encounter with the Lord who comes to him as Providence (Good Mind). The Lord asks him who he is, according to the formula used when inquiring into someone's identity: "Who art thou? Whose art thou (i.e. whose son are you or to whom do you belong, who is your master)?" Then—in a phrase which surprises a little—he suggests a tryst "to inquire about his possessions and his person" as if to intimate: "I can verify what you say" (?).

Zarathustra answers: I am Zarathustra, first of all an enemy to the wicked and a support for the righteous; a man wishing to gain the future reward for his praises of the Lord, the blessings of the absolute Dominion (beatitude in the Kingdom of the Lord?) (7 and 8).

★

★

★

5

As the holy one I recognized thee, O Wise Lord,
When I saw thee at the beginning, at the birth of
existence,

Appoint a recompense for deed and word :
Evil reward to the evil, good to the good,
Through thy wisdom, at the last turning-point of creation.

6

At the turning-point where thou wilt come with thy Holy
Spirit, with thy Dominion,

Then, O Wise One, shall Devotion, (moved) by the Good Mind
—By whose deeds the living prosper according to
Righteousness—

Proclaim for them the decrees of thy will which none
deceives.

*

*

*

7

As the holy one I recognized thee, O Wise Lord,

When he came to me as Good Mind and asked me :

“ Who art thou, whose art thou ? Shall I appoint by a sign
The days when inquiry shall be made about thy living possessions
and thyself ? ”

8

I made answer to him : “ I am Zarathustra, first,

A true enemy to the wicked with all my might,

But a powerful support for the righteous,

So that I may attain the future blessings of the absolute
Dominion

By praising and singing thee, O Wise One ! ”

*

*

*

A second dialogue, or a continuation of the first : to whom will Zoroaster address these praises and songs, which are no doubt intended for the Lord, so that they will be transmitted to him ?—To the fire of the Lord, answers Zarathustra, the fire which is traditionally the “incarnation” of the Right : worshipping the fire, he will see *fire* but will think *Right*, as long as he is able ! But he desires to see the Right itself, and he asks the Lord for a vision. The Lord appears (and how otherwise could he show him the Right, which is himself !) : he is accompanied by Devotion whose task is (as we have seen in stanza 6) the instruction of mankind, and he, with Devotion is ready to answer any request of Zarathustra’s. The latter has a right to an answer, for he is powerful through the spirit, so that anybody who holds power—this is meant for his potential protectors !—is obliged to help him and communicate his strength to him (9 and 10).

* * *

From the moment of the first instruction which he thus received from the Entities, Zarathustra recognized the holiness of the Lord. He also understood that his zeal to put this teaching into practice, as well as his zeal to learn the law of Righteousness, would bring him suffering among men. Nevertheless, he will obey the Lord ; according to the injunction of the Lord he will at once set out on the path of Righteousness ; he will not wait for the Lord to impose his will by sending his Discipline to the two sides, followed by Destiny, the distributor of the rewards (11 and 12).

As the holy one I recognized thee, O Wise Lord,
 When he came to me as Good Mind.
 To his question : " To whom wilt thou address thy worship ? "
 I made reply : " To thy fire ! While I offer up my veneration
 to it,
 I will think of the Right to the utmost of my power."

10

" Then show me Righteousness, for I call unto it."
 (The Wise Lord :)
 " Behold me coming, with Devotion for my companion.
 What thou hast to ask of us, ask it now,
 --For a question from thee is as one from the mighty—
 Since he who has the power should make thee strong and
 mighty."

* * *

11

As the holy one I recognized thee, O Wise Lord,
 When he came to me as Good Mind,
 When first I was instructed in your words.
 Suffering among men will be caused to me by my zeal
 To carry out that which you tell me is the greatest good

12

And to carry out what thou didst say to me : " Come to learn
 Righteousness ! "
 Yet not in vain shall have been thy command : " Get thee on
 thy way
 Before my Discipline comes, followed by Destiny with great riches,
 Which shall portion out between the two camps the destinies
 of salvation and doom."

* * *

The Lord asks him what he desires. He answers that he wishes to know what actions ensure long-lasting existence in the Dominion of the Lord. The Lord will grant this wish voluntarily, in his sovereign freedom, for nobody can compel him. Zarathustra desires to be treated by him as a friend. He asks him for the support of his wisdom and his Dominion, both of them in conformity with Righteousness, to set out with all the believers against the infidels (13 and 14).

* * *

The last discourse is contained in one stanza: "Devotion (*Aramati*), says the prophet, has taught me in the silence of my soul (having taken the shape of a Silent Thought: *Tushnāmati*) what I am to proclaim." As regards the wicked, their hostility must be met with hostility (15).

* * *

In the final stanza Zarathustra declares himself to be on the side of the Lord and the major Entities: he desires that Righteousness may become incarnate and strengthened by the action of mankind; that Devotion may be united to the Dominion; that the feelings and the zeal of men may answer to the commands of authority (cf. Yasna 44.7).

13

As the holy one I recognized thee, O Wise Lord,
 When he came to me as Good Mind
 To learn the aim of my desire.
 Grant me this wish—which none can force you to fulfil—
 To know what deeds ensure long duration of priceless existence,
 Which is—this was revealed to me—in thy Dominion.

14

The support which an initiate who is able would grant to
 May I receive it, O Wise One, from thy wisdom [friend,
 Which is attained with thy Dominion, according to Righteous-
 ness,
 That I may set out against the foes of the judgment,
 Together with all those who mark thy commands !

* * *

15

As the holy one I recognized thee, O Wise Lord,
 When he came to me as Good Mind ;
 The Silent Thought taught me the greatest good
 So that I might proclaim it.
 Let no man favour the many wicked,
 For they make enemies of all righteous men.

* * *

16

O Wise Lord, Zarathustra here chooses for himself thy Spirit
 which is the most holy.
 May Righteousness be embodied, through life may it gain
 May Devotion be in the shining Dominion ; [strength ;
 May it reward men's deeds through the Good Mind !

YASNA 51

The first words of this Gāthā may serve as a title : The Good Dominion.

After two exordial stanzas in which Zarathustra prays for the coming of this Dominion which will bring happiness to the righteous, he asks where, when, and how this wish will be fulfilled (4-7) ; what will be the fate of the wicked and that of the righteous (8-10) ? —He then enumerates both : first his enemies, the minion of the prince and the sacrificers (12-15) ; then his friends, Vištāspa, the two Hvogvas, his kinsman Madyamāha Spitama (16-19). He ends with three stanzas of prayer addressed to the united entities (20-22).

THE Good Dominion brings happiness to the righteous. Men must declare themselves for it, and Zarathustra works to prepare for its coming (1).

The Dominion has been, from the beginning, in the possession of the Wise Lord and the other Lords. It is from him, therefore, that Zarathustra asks it ; the Lord will grant it to him by virtue of his Providence (Good Mind) (2).

Where are the Lords to be found who are the source of this bliss ? Zarathustra asks it as he does at the end of the *Gāthā of the Ox Soul*, but in a longer series of questions which enumerate the first five entities of the hierarchy : The Wise One, Righteousness, Best Mind, Holy Devotion, Dominion (4).

I

The Good Dominion must be man's choice ;
 It brings the most precious fate to him who acts (?) with
 zeal.
 Through the Right shall he attain the sovereign good for his
 deeds, O Wise One.
 This will I now accomplish for ourselves.

2

Therefore, O Wise Lord, appoint me the Dominion
 Which from the beginning has been in your possession,
 Thine, and of Righteousness, and thine, O Devotion.
 Your (Kingdom) of salvation let him who prays attain through
 the Good Mind.

3 (?)

4

Where shall enjoyment be found instead of pain, where
 forgiveness ?
 Where shall Righteousness be attained ?
 Where is Holy Devotion ? Where the Best Mind ?
 Where are thy Dominions, O Wise One ?

Will the righteous one, the herdsman of good will and upright deeds who fears the Lord, receive the ox, the source of prosperity? The Lord has promised the supreme good to those who obey him, the greatest evil to the others, for the "last turning-point of existence", and he is the master of these two rewards. From him, therefore, Zarathustra asks bliss for the hour of judgment, for he, as the Holy Spirit, is the creator of terrestrial prosperity—ox, waters and plants—and can therefore, through his Providence (Good Mind), give mankind the entities belonging to this prosperity: Immortality and Integrity, with strength and endurance (7).

* * *

Having thus prayed for himself, Zarathustra will now present to the initiates the picture of the contrasting fate destined for the righteous and the wicked, so that they may enjoy the same happiness (8).

He asks for a manifest and indubitable revelation of this fate by "a sign". He knows that separation will be made by a test of fire and molten metal (9).

5

All this I ask : shall he receive from Righteousness the ox,
 The herdsman of good will and upright deeds,
 Obedient to the lord of the two rewards,
 Who promised to the pure a just protector,

6

And who, even the Wise Lord, as the Dominion,
 Appoints the best of the good to him who fulfils his will,
 But the worst of the bad to him who shall not obey him,
 At the last turning-point of existence ?

7

O Wise One, thou who, as the Most Holy Spirit,
 Didst make the ox and waters and plants,
 Give me Immortality and Integrity,
 Strength and endurance with the Good Mind, at the judgment !

* * *

8

Then will I speak, O Wise One—for one must speak of it to
 the initiate—
 Both of the evil which threatens the wicked one
 And of the bliss of him who upholds Righteousness.
 For with joy does the prophet speak of this to the initiate.

9

What reward thou hast appointed to the two parties, O Wise
 One,
Through thy bright fire and through the molten metal,
 Give a sign of it to the souls of men,
 To bring hurt to the wicked, benefit to the righteous.

He himself submits in advance and implicitly to destruction by this ordeal, should he deserve it. But anybody who tries to destroy him for any other reason is wicked. He implores the reward of Righteousness (10).

* * *

No doubt he also has friends on whom he can count, who are with him on the side of Righteousness, Devotion, and Good Mind, having intercourse with the former two and partaking of the favours of the latter in its sacrament. Who are they? (11).

Certainly not the minion of the prince. For he has refused the prophet and his beasts of burden hospitality in the cold of the winter. Perhaps this happened at a particularly troublesome crossing, a mountain gorge; we do not know exactly. In any case, Zarathustra "awaits" him at another "bridge", the "Bridge of the Separator": this time it is he, the minion, who will tremble, but with fear, like every wicked one who has strayed from the straight path in his conscience and by his deeds. By the parallelism of the expressions, *Bridge of the winter—Bridge of the Separator*, Zarathustra has strikingly linked the misdeed with the punishment (a sufficient reason for choosing the first of the two expressions, copied from the other, as a description of the place of the misdeed) (12 and 13).

10

He who seeks to destroy me for whatever other cause than this,
 He, O Wise One, is the son of the creation of Evil,
 And evil-doing therefore to mankind.
 Righteousness do I call to me to bring good reward.

* * *

11

What man is Zarathustra's sworn friend, O Wise One ?
 Who has taken counsel with Righteousness ?
 Who was he, through Holy Devotion ?
 Who has been mindful in uprightness of the sacrament of Good
 Mind ?

12

The minion of the sorcerer prince, at the Bridge of the Winter,
 Offended Zarathustra Spitama by refusing him shelter,
 Him and his beasts of burden who came to him shivering with
 cold.

13

Thus does the evil one's conscience forfeit the assurance of the
 straight (path) ;
 His soul (?) stripped naked (?) shall be afraid at the Bridge of
 the Separator,
 Having strayed from the path of Righteousness
 By its deeds and those of his tongue.

Among his enemies there are equally the sacrificers, who, instead of tending the ox, cause its suffering. May they learn from the Lord what punishment awaits them in the house of Evil! (14)—By contrast with these last words, Zarathustra evokes the house of Song, where the Wise One awaits the righteous. The prophet has promised it to them as the fruit of their sacramental union with the major entities (15).

* * *

One of these beneficiaries is Prince Vištāspa. The sacrament has conferred on him the good power (the Dominion); Providence (Good Mind) has led him to the doctrine of Righteousness conceived by the Lord. The conditions for the renewal exist. It only remains to wish for its realization (16).

Zoroaster's second partisan is Frašaoštra, of the Hvogva family. May the Lord support him in his zeal for the good religion so that he may attain Righteousness (?) (17).

The third is Jāmāspa, his brother. He has adopted the doctrine of Righteousness. May he, through the Good Mind, obtain the Dominion (i.e. perhaps: "May Providence support him in the exercise of power", for Jāmāspa, so tradition tells us, was the minister of the prince) (18).

14

The sacrificers do not submit to rule and ordinance of husbandry.
 For the suffering which they cause to the ox
 Reveal the judgment which shall at the end
 Consign them to the house of Evil for their deeds and judgments !

15

The house of Song which Zarathustra promised to the men of
 the sacrament as their gain,
 The Wise Lord was the first that entered it.
 It was promised to you with all its blessings
 For your Good Mind and your Righteousness.

* * *

16

Prince Vištāspa, with the Dominion of the sacrament,
 In the ways of the Good Mind has attained
 The doctrine which the Wise Lord has conceived, as
 Righteousness.
 May it be accomplished according to our wish !

17

Frašaoštra Hvogva has shown me his own self dedicated to the
 good faith ;
 May the Wise Lord in his might make it dear to him,
 So that he may achieve possession of Righteousness (?).

18

Jāmāspa Hvogva, seeking to gain the Dominion of the Good
 Mind,
 Has accepted this doctrine, together with Righteousness,
 As the full measure of possession.
 Grant me, Wise Lord, that thy support be theirs !

The fourth partisan is Madyamāha, of the prophet's family. Stanza 19 is probably to be put into the mouths of listeners. "This man" is the prophet himself. Zarathustra, together with his kinsman, has suggested to Vištāspa that he should preach the proper conduct in this life to his subjects.

★ ★ ★

Zarathustra speaks in his turn and asks the united Entities for the support which they have promised to those who worship them (20). Man's action counts for something: when he is inspired by Devotion, he is holy, i.e. powerful; he increases Righteousness. Inversely, the Wise Lord, through his Good Mind, grants him the Dominion (21). Zarathustra therefore knows to whom to address his worship: to the Lord and to the eternal entities ("who have been and are") (22).

(The listeners :)

“ This man, together with Madyamāha Spitama,
Has set himself, when he understood it in his conscience,
To proclaim to him who desires existence
The best things to do in this life according to the law of the
Wise One.”

★ ★ ★

(Zarathustra :)

Grant us your blessing, all you of like purpose,
Righteousness with Good Mind, Devotion, Wise One
Who give the support which you have promised
When you are worshipped with veneration.

Holy is the man of Devotion ;
Through thoughts and words and deed
And through his conscience he increases Righteousness ;
The Wise Lord as Good Mind gives the Dominion.
For this good reward I pray.

I know that my greatest good is to worship
The Wise Lord and those that have been and are.
By their names will I worship them
And come before them with praise (?).

YASNA 53

This Gāthā, unlike all the others, cannot be by Zarathustra : he is actually mentioned in it as having been granted eternal bliss, as has been remarked by Nyberg, Religionen, p. 151. The Gāthā might be called the Marriage Gāthā : it seems indeed to have been pronounced in the course of a nuptial ceremony.

It is traditionally considered that the bride is named in stanza 2 : Paručistā, Zarathustra's younger daughter. But this cannot be done without doing violence to the syntax. If the text is taken as it is, i.e. *paručistā* as a nominative, this person has to be excluded from the part. Besides, it would be rather strange to name the bride and not the husband.

But this being so, what is Paručistā doing in this ceremony ? According to H. S. Nyberg she has become a sort of tutelary deity of marriage. I do not think it necessary to go so far. Could not this daughter of the prophet have personally presided over the nuptials ? According to this point of view the connection of ideas between the three first stanzas is most clearly apparent : the first is a commemoration of Zarathustra who has opened the path of beatitude to those who practise his religion ; stanza 2 recalls that the destiny of this religion which he has founded is henceforth in the hands of prince Vištāspa, of Frašaoštra, and the son of the prophet, Spitama ; the sister of the latter, Zarathustra's daughter, Paručistā, is quite naturally added to these "successors of the prophet" in stanza 3.

Her pious person presides over this marriage because it must be seen as a symbolical renewal of the alliance with the divine Triad which her father has preached. Paručistā therefore exhorts the young bride to wise resolutions and to a conduct ruled by Devotion (3).

I

The best possession of Zarathustra Spitama has been revealed :
 It is that the Wise Lord has granted, through the Right, eternal
 bliss

To him and to all those who have observed and practised
 The words and deeds of his good religion.

2

By the thought of him, by words and deeds,
 Shall prince Vištāspa and Spitama, Zarathustra's son,
 And Frašaoštra strive willingly
 To please the Wise One and to pray in his praise,
 Making even the paths to the religion of the saviour,
 Which the Lord has ordained.

3

And this is he whom Paručistā, descendant of Haēčataspa the
 Spitamid,
 Zarathustra's youngest daughter, has destined for thee,
 To renew the bond with Good Mind, Righteousness, and the
 Wise One.
 Then take counsel with thy reason,
 And wisely carry out the holiest deeds of Devotion !

The bride promises to have towards the husband whom Paruċistā has intended for her the feelings due to a father and to a husband, inasmuch as they are her family and are herdsmen and act according to Righteousness. She calls the blessing of the Lord down on him for his good conscience (4).

The officiating priest in his turn addresses all the listeners as well as the young couple. He first states the essentials of the doctrine, alluding to the Wise One, as Zarathustra did at the beginning of his sermon in Gāthā 45, by the use of the verb *man . . . dā*, then naming the other entities which, with him, form the Triad. Their zeal for the Triad will make their happiness, and nothing else. The happiness which the followers of Evil appear to enjoy must be rejected. For these people destroy their bliss, their spiritual life; and having despised Righteousness, they shall receive meagre pittance and cry "Woe!" (5-6).

The faithful, on the other hand, as long as an ardent zeal fills their very marrow, shall enjoy the benefit of this sacrament (the renewed alliance with the lords, cf. stanza 5), which, however, destroys the wicked one and would destroy them too if they were unfaithful.

4

(The bride :)

Zealously will I prefer him,
 As a righteous one honours her father and her husband,
 If they be righteous, as herdsmen and as family.
 May the Wise Lord for ever grant
 The wondrous gift to his good conscience !

5

(The priest :)

For the young brides do I preach and for you.
 Take the doctrines for your wisdom and understand them in
 your soul,
 In your yearning towards a life of Good Mind.
 Vie with each other in your zeal for Righteousness,
 For in this shall be your reward.

6

Thus, truly, O men and women,
 You shall forego the happiness which you see a follower of Evil
 enjoy.
 Crying "Woe !", they shall receive meagre pittance, the
 wicked ones ;
 They shall be deprived of bliss who despise Righteousness :
 Thus do you destroy for yourselves the spiritual existence !

7

But yours, while a most steadfast zeal burns in your flesh,
 Shall be the blessing of this sacrament,
 Where the spirit of the wicked one is battered and destroyed.
 So you abandon the sacrament, Woe ! shall be your last word !

The two last stanzas call punishment and destruction upon the evildoers, and that at once : may the Almighty Lord, with the help of good rulers, bring them confusion, blood and death, while ensuring peace and happiness to the villages (8). Where are they, these rulers? Where is the lord who shall take the life and liberty (as in Yasna 46.4) of these people who have chosen the evil part and devoted themselves to corruption, whether by seeking to harm upright men, or by despising Righteousness, or by having condemned themselves by their crimes?

The Wise One has the power to favour him who lives uprightly and relies on him as a dependent (cf. Yasna 34.5) on his lord and master.

8

Let thus the evildoers be deceived and let them all perish with
much wailing !

With the help of good rulers may the Almighty
Bring death and blood upon them, but peace to the happy
villages !

Let the Almighty confound them and bind them in death,
And let it be soon !

9

Corruption fastens on the unbelievers.
They who seek to humble the upright,
They who despise Righteousness, who have doomed their own
selves—

Where is the righteous lord who shall strip them of life and
liberty ?

O Wise One, thine is the Dominion
To give to the needy one who lives uprightly the better part !

EPILOGUE

AND now we may view at some distance what we have shown of Zarathustra and his work. It is difficult entirely to resist the temptation of a comparison with other great minds, with other religious movements. There can be no question here of contemplating such a vast subject, which it is hoped to broach in another volume, while following the destinies of the Zoroastrian religion.¹ We will, however, in all simplicity offer a few reflections in this connection.

Whatever the future of his doctrine was to be, and even if it was only to survive disfigured—a fate which no doctrine escapes—Zarathustra appears to have met with success in his lifetime. No doubt he “suffered among men”, but he found a princely protector. Zarathustra was a prophet who succeeded.

There is nothing to allow one to suppose that he may have known the ignominious end of a Mani thrown into prison, a Jesus treated as a vulgar agitator and abandoned by his followers. Perhaps it was this very abasement which his greatness lacked.—The renewal which he announced did not come about. Things were left as they were—There is nothing here of the great Christian Paradox, which sees in the apparent failure, in death, in despair—‘my God, why hast thou forsaken me?’—the very proof of Triumph.

But perhaps this “absurd” attitude, which is characteristic of the whole Gnostic movement, is, as Simone Pètrement supposes, dormant in Zarathustra’s endeavour?

Zarathustra makes a distinction, which he formulates expressly, between the world of the body and that of the spirit. His religion, his cult, are pervaded with spirituality. But, contrary

¹ *Ohrmazd et Ahriman*, Paris, Presses Universitaires.

to Plato, he does not reject the body in the name of the soul. He gives it a place in the present duties as well as in the future rewards. He suggests no renunciation, he preaches the maintenance of life.

He does not, however, like Buddha, preach respect for all life. His doctrine is aggressive, "virile". The cause of the good exacts the crushing of evil. Ahura Mazda is a god of justice. Twice the weight of this justice has seemed too heavy to his prophet: "Have pity on me," he cries; and to his faithful he allows a glimpse of a possible derogation of the law: "I will recall only your merits, not your faults," he promises two of them. Generally, however, he has faith in the triumph of Mazda and of all the eternal forces of life. A dualist, perhaps, but an optimist!

At the time of the Arab conquest the Iranian people adopted the law of the conquerors, Islam. But a group of noblemen who had taken refuge in the mountains clung to the national religion as to a symbol of independence. Under persecution and in exile these resisters and their descendants were going to manifest extraordinary qualities.

In present-day India, where they number about 100,000, they constitute by far the most active, enlightened, and enterprising minority. They are engineers, officials, bankers, directors of spinning-mills and of railway companies; they distinguish themselves by their philanthropy, by the number of their charities, their hospitals, orphanages, and schools.

To what is this excellence due? Partly no doubt to the severe selection which operated in their ranks in the course of the hundred and thirty-four years during which they suffered one test after another, and which led them from their country of origin to their present habitat, the region of Bombay.

Their case has been compared¹ to the Puritans of England, who, in the seventeenth century, fleeing from religious persecution, went to America, where their descendants to-day still occupy the highest positions. Undoubtedly the conditions under which these displacements happened, the numerous deaths, and no doubt also the discouragement of some, only allowed the fittest and most resolute to survive. Such—truly heroes—must have been these men and women who founded the Parsee community of India.

But this process of natural selection does not, perhaps, sufficiently explain the extraordinary fortune which was to be theirs. For nearly ten centuries, in fact, the community lived in a small way by agriculture, until the English, bringing commerce to India, made it possible for the Parsees to display their capabilities. But then, the Parsees must have maintained these capabilities until that time. How and why this latent survival? It seems to me that the explanation can be looked for in their religion. With some reflections on this subject we will once more, and in conclusion, salute certain permanent aspects of the Zoroastrian doctrine.

It appears to me that a religion of asceticism and renunciation, like, for example, Buddhism, would not have led the Parsees to their present state. Their faith did not turn them from the world and from action. No vows of chastity and poverty with the Parsees! Each individual has the duty to found a home and to work the earth, agriculture having for centuries succeeded cattle-raising as an essential resource of economy. His religion all but tells him, as Louis-Philippe told his citizens: "Grow rich." Even the obligation of marrying among themselves, which in itself may have deplorable effects, has been useful to the Parsees who observed it with extreme strictness. For in

¹ Notably by E. Huntington of Yale, in an important work entitled *Mainsprings of Civilization*, 1945.

their case it was applied to a true *élite* : it could but benefit a community previously subjected to a severe selection, to keep its lineage pure.

This precept also must have strengthened, in exile, the feeling of social solidarity, already prompted by the religious dogma of the choice, by the duty of helping the good and fighting the wicked. At every moment of his existence the Parsee can feel himself engaged with his co-religionists and under the guarantee of a just and good God, in a vast enterprise, the range of which extends to the limits of the universe, but which embraces also the humblest labours without which life could not be maintained and multiplied. In harmony with the celestial powers, but with both feet on the ground : this equilibrium is the fundamental characteristic of Zoroaster's doctrine, and this has perhaps made the strength of his disciples.

As regards us Westerners, it is not difficult to see that Zoroaster had just what we lack most. We have knowledge, curiosity, power. But our science, our power, are inhuman. We know our wealth, but we lack the courage to choose. We feel the want of a rule, and miss the means of reintegrating man and the universe with each other. The kind of innocence which we should most envy Zoroaster, and Nietzsche did not err in this, is that he conceived human values as cosmic values, that he could bring down to man's level, in the words of Paul Valéry,

' The great deeds which are in the heavens '.